Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-095
Thursday
18 May 1989

Daily Report

Soviet Union

CONTENTS

Comparison on 14 May Talks With Deng [PRAVDA 17 May] 19
17 May Activities Noted [TASS] 19
Visits Cause Wrath [PRAVDA 19 May] 20
Interviewed on Gorbachev Visit to Moscow TV [Moscow TV] 20
Interviewed by Beijing TV [Moscow TV] 21
Holds News Conference 17 May [Moscow TV] 21
Shanghai Visit Previewed [ZHANGJIANG 16 May] 33
Leaves Beijing for Shanghai [TASS] 34
Arrives in Shanghai [TASS] 34
Gives Speech at Shanghai Luncheon [Moscow TV] 35
Ends PRC Visit, Departs for Home [TASS] 35
Shevardnadze, PRC Counterpart Quiet Qichen Meet [PRAVDA 16 May] 36
Maintains PRC's Taiwan Issue Declare Trade [PRAVDA 20 May] 36
Raisa Gorbachova Meets Beijing Citizens 17 May [TASS] 36
World Reaction to Gorbachev China Visit Noted [Radio on Moscow TV] 37
PRC Intelligentsia View Gorbachev 17 May Speech [PRAVDA 19 May] 37
Zhao Ziyang Sends Message to Striking Students [Moscow International] 52
Beijing Leaders 'Have Practically Lost Control' [TASS] 54
Chronology Affects Gorbachev Itinerary [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 17 May] 55
Gorbachev Gives Impetus to USSR-PRC Trade [TASS] 55
Soviet Banker Views Financial Contacts With PRC [TASS] 56

Northeast Asia

Japan Welcomes Soviet Peace Proposal [TASS] 40
Gorbachev Sends Christmas Exchanges With Japan [Tokyo KYODO] 40
Commentary on Soviet-Japanese Relations [Moscow International] 40
Moves on Soviet Troop Withdrawal From Mongolia 41
MPR Minister at Farewell Ceremony [Moscow Radio] 41
Residents Welcome Returning Troops [Ulaanbaatar International] 42
Soviet-Mongolian Economic Commission Ends Session [ZHANGJIANG 14 May] 42

Near East & South Asia

Iran's Minister Favors 'Broader' Ties With USSR [TASS] 42
Commentator Ponders Way Out of Afghan Situation [Moscow Radio] 42

Sub-Saharan Africa

Comecon Chief Attends to Ethiopia Visit [TASS] 43
Gorbachev Receives Envoy From Congo, Algeria Visits [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 May] 43
Monitoring Commission on Namibia Adjourns [TASS] 44
Zimbabwe Foreign Minister Stops Over in Moscow [ZHANGJIANG 16 May] 44

East Europe

Administrative Commentators Held in Kracow [Moscow International] 44
Polish Pope 'Unconventional' Crosses Border [TASS] 44
Yazov, CSSR Army Officials Tour South Moravia [Bratislava PRAVDA 17 May] 45
Yazov Ends Visit, Returns to Moscow [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 May] 45
CSSR Embassy Official Interviewed on Liberation Day [SZABAD NEP 21 May] 46
Commentary Views Hungarian Government 'Lineup' [Lastomir in ZHANGJIANG 17 May] 47
Paper Profiles New SPRV President Drnovsek [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 19 May] 47
President Congratulates Drnovsek [PRAVDA 20 May] 48
SPRV Cooperation Credit Balance Talks in Moscow [Belgrade TANJUG] 49
RSFSR Education Minister Visits Serbia [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 17 May] 49

West Europe

UK's Howe Receives Warsaw Pact Official Letter [TASS] 49
'Cold War' Features in UK Defense Program [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 May] 49

Petrovskiy Receives UK Ambassador [1 Mar] 34
Muratkhanov Meets Canadian Businessmen [3 Mar] 34
Issues Surrounding Division of Cyprus Identified [PRAVDA 17 Mar] 35

Latin America & Caribbean

Panama on Threshold of New Regional Conflict [Maputo in Mozambican International] 37
Correspondent Views Panama's 'Implacable Struggle' [ZYCIE STARTY 30 Mar] 37
A-7 Fighter Chief Follows Departure for Brazil [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 May] 38
Moscow Declared Victor in Argentine Election [TASS] 38

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Poll of Public Shows Election's 'Positive' Impact [ZYCIE STARTY 17 Mar] 41
CPSU Agrit Plenum Documents Published [Moscow TV] 56
Democratic Union's Political Aims Criticized [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 17 Mar] 57
Commission Confirms Semipalatinsk Radioactive Leak [Moscow International] 58
No Radioactive Contamination Caused [TASS] 58
Nakanov on Reforms, Elections, Other Events [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG 6 May] 58
Georgian Panel Terms 9 Apr Actions 'Unlawful' [ZARYA VOSTOKA 7 May] 64
Poisonings 'Crime Against Humanity' [ZARYA VOSTOKA 7 May] 65
Gen Rodionov 'Wandering Angel' [ZARYA VOSTOKA 7 May] 65
Doctors Confirm Use of US Gas [ZARYA VOSTOKA 7 May] 65
Georgia's Gumbaridze Meets Academician Sakharov [ZARYA VOSTOKA 7 May] 65
Georgian Leader Admonishes Republic's Journalists [ZARYA VOSTOKA 7 May] 65
Georgian Foreign Ministry Gives Wider Powers [PRAVDA 20 May] 66
Shipment of Aid, Goods Sent to Georgia [TASS] 67
Gorbachev To Receive NKAO Representatives [ARMENPRESS] 67
Volskiy Meets NKAO Citizens, Construction Halted [Yerevan Radio] 68
Vezirov Addresses Party Aktiv Meeting in Baku [Moscow TV] 68
Zvyagin Speaks at Azerbaijan Ideology Meeting [Baku Radio] 68
Plan To Improve Georgia-Azerbaijan Ties Approved [Baku Radio] 68
Ukrainian Clerics Stage Strike at Supreme Soviet [Hamburg DPA] 67
Leningrad Press Center Opens With News Conference [LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA 29 Apr] 67
Leningrad Conference Views Fight Against Crime [LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA 27 Apr] 68
Lithuanian Bureau Analyzes Election Campaign [SOVETSKAYA LITVA 29 Apr] 69
Lithuanian Writer on Interethnic Friction [TALKA 7 Mar] 70
Agrarian Union Established in Estonia [TASS] 72
Armenians Demand Closure of Mining Combine [Yerevan Radio] 73
New Armenian Justice Minister Appointed [Yerevan Radio] 73
New Health Minister Appointed in Armenia [Yerevan Radio] 73
Rozhkov, Others Sign Statistics Official's Obituary [PRAVDA 14 May] 74
Leaders Sign Composer Vasnetsov's Obituary [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 16 May] 74
Letter Criticizes Exit Visa Amendment [ZYCIE STARTY 17 Mar] 74
Chemical Weapons Destruction Plant Row Deadlocked [ZYCIE STARTY 14 May] 74
Academician Examines Legal Guarantees of Freedom [PRAVDA 17 Mar] 75
Paper 'Bemused' by Criticism of PUWP Story [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 17 May] 76
Tanker Collides with Ship; Oil Spills in Volga [TASS] 76
Official Says Salt Shortage Rumors Unfounded [ZYCIE STARTY 17 Mar] 76

Economic

Lithuanian Bank Official Explains New Practices [Vilnius TIESA 17 Mar] 80
Automated Electronic Credit Card System Launched [PRAVDA 12 May] 81
Economist Discusses Convertible Ruble Problem [PRAVDA 20 May] 82
Official Interviewed on Economic Issues [Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG 14 May] 84

Agricultural

Program Discusses Rural Living Conditions [Moscow TV] 81
Estonian Farmers' Leader Interviewed [LITERATURA 5 May] 87

Scientific

'Cosmos-2020' Satellite Launched [7 May] [TASS] 90
General Shaposhnikov Details 'Spaceplane' Project's Cause [KRYLYA RODINY 5] 90
Murmansk Earth Tremors Linked to Ore Blasting [PRAVDA 14 May] 91

Military

Lushev Interviewed on Army Political Work [Moscow TV] 93

Gerasimov: Soviets Working Document in Vienna

[TASS] [Excerpt] Moscow TASS in English 0910 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Vienna, May 19 (TASS)—The Soviet delegation at the 23-nation Conventional Forces in Europe talks (CFE) in Vienna today submitted a working document setting ceilings for the armed forces of the two alliances in Europe. Oleg Grinevskiy, who is ambassador at large, made this proposal on behalf of the socialist countries.

The document, based on proposals made by Mikhail Gorbachev during talks with U.S. State Secretary James Baker on May 12, involves sizable cuts in the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe. It envisages not only eliminating existing imbalances and asymmetries, but also setting considerably lower levels on all destabilizing types of weapons.

The approach of the socialist countries envisages that the cutbacks will be carried out simultaneously on an area stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals in a way which will exclude harming the security of any participant in European events. After the attainment of the initial agreement, the sides would continue talks on further cuts to reach levels regarded reasonable by the alliances.

Advancing this proposal, the socialist countries would like to make the talks businesslike and substantive in order to ensure the earliest attainment of qualitatively new levels of security in Europe.

General Nalbandovskiy Interviewed on Defense Policy

[Excerpt] Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 6-7 May 89 pp 1-2

[NALBANDOV] questions speaker on [COLNEL] Wojciech SCT with Lieutenant General Gennadiy Nalbandov, deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, by Igor Vinogradov: "From Confrontation to Mutual Confidence" date and place not given

[Text] [Vinogradov] Please forgive me if my first question seems too direct, but are you not scared of the prospects posed by the new political thinking in the military sphere?

[Nalbandovskiy] We are not. In fact, we have reasons to believe that we are politically and psychologically better prepared for these prospects than our opponents in the West. To put it more clearly, the stance of the Soviet military leadership is here determined by the concrete steps to reduce the size of the Armed Forces by 500,000 men. They are the most substantial and most practical illustration of the new political thinking. A constructive approach toward the most urgent problems is illustrated by the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan according to a strict time limit, or the publication of the declaration by the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee entitled "Concerning the Relationship Between the Numerical Status of the Armed Forces and Armaments of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in Europe and Adjoining Waters."

The Soviet military leadership is looking at things soberly and with a feeling of responsibility. We have always believed and still believe that the primary task of professional soldiers and armies is to safeguard the security of our country and that of our allies. However, we are convinced that this task is connected with the ideas and attitudes stemming from the new political thinking and from the need to overcome the effects of the cult of East-West confrontation as quickly as possible. It is obvious that the greater the Soviet state's success in achieving these goals by political and diplomatic means, the easier it is for our soldiers to carry out our primary tasks.

[Vinogradov] The decision to reduce the size of the Armed Forces was made at a political level. How big a role did military circles play in reaching this decision?

[Nalbandovskiy] I think everyone realizes this problem is a very delicate matter. Obviously, such a decision is taken only following large, meticulous, careful analysis of the real situation. A large number of representatives and military experts took part in this process. In fact, as I know, engineers of the National Defense Ministry and General Staff were more active than anyone else in preparing the decision.

[Vinogradov] Do the present military objectives and tasks, a lowering of pressure from NATO, as it often claimed in the West?

[Nalbandovskiy] Perhaps that is how some people would like them to appear. In all fairness, however, serious experts almost appreciate the wisdom and flexibility of Soviet policy. At the basis of the decision to reduce the size of the Armed Forces lay a profound analysis of the political and military realities in the modern world and an understanding of their interdependence. The results of this analysis are reflected in the Warsaw Pact's defense doctrine. As we know, this doctrine is aimed at a permanent lowering of the balance between both sides' forces at the lowest possible level, and affirms the basis for the use of armed forces and weapons in solely an international degree. In many respects we are looking at a completely new way at certain aspects of the Soviet Armed Forces and military potential.

[Vinogradov] Many Soviet experts, including military ones, think that the permanent pressure of the NATO leadership working out "Lance follow-on" is one the new factors making it difficult to control armaments and consolidate confidence. How would you explain this?

[Nalbandovskiy] The question is too complicated and too controversial. As far as I can tell, one of the most important for what you say is a lack of confidence in or something that has its roots in the past. Some NATO countries still doubt the stability and sincerity of the changes in the East. It is difficult to say when these doubts are genuine and when they are speculated. What is clear is that the inertia of conservative thinking and the particular vested interests of Atlantic military circles are creating a real resistance of [NNR] politics.

[Unintelligible] Will this "freshen" and have a bearing on the Vienna talks?

[Serlenovsky] I do not consider myself a diplomatic expert but, according to people who are experts, the Vienna participants expect the talks to end quickly and without problems. However, I think our NATO partners will find it difficult to pretend that "nothing much is happening" on the Soviet Army, when they hear that our transporters are shipping tanks back from the West to the East, and that regiments and divisions are being disbanded. Let us hope this argument will permit a better understanding of the new USSR defense policy and an overcoming of the ideological and psychological stereotypes of the "cold war" era.

[Unintelligible] I assume our own words and deeds from the era of "deadlock" have contributed toward the establishment of a poor opinion of Soviet defense policy.

[Serlenovsky] If one wants to improve a situation one has to be self-critical, and not only in relation to the past. As we know, at the 19th CPSU Conference our party found the courage to admit that a dispute between military activists and political activists, and an exaggeration of the role of military measures in the protection of peace, were one of the greatest contributors toward a negative opinion of the USSR. As one can see, we are trying to correct this error by means of doctrine and practice.

However, one must realize that, although the danger of war has been pushed back, it has not been eliminated. There is still no perfect mechanism of preventing armed conflict. As long as such a mechanism is absent, military policy must guarantee a high level of defense capability for the USSR and its allies. Regardless of our good will, the level of defense sufficiency cannot be lowered by an alarm. People must be able to see the world the way it is—with all its risk chances, but also with all its discrepancies and complications.

U.N., FRG, U.S. Reactions to Arms Initiative Cited

PM160124 MM Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS: 14 May roundup under the general heading "Wide Response"]

[Excerpt] The Soviet program for equalizing numbers of troops and armaments on the two military-political alliances in Europe at considerably lower than current levels, which was put forward by M.S. Gorbachev during his meeting with U. Haack, continues to be at the center of public attention.

Washington

"M. Gorbachev, who only 3 years ago abandoned the former pendulum Soviet foreign policy style and put forward a whole series of constructive initiatives on arms control problems, has again put the administration in a difficult position," THE WASHINGTON POST writes. "The Soviet leader is forcing the White House team to react to important Soviet proposals rather than living it come up with its own initiatives."

"Briefing the West German Government on M. Gorbachev's new proposals, the Soviet foreign minister has upped the ante in the disarmaments debate," the NBC news anchor noted. "E. Shevardnadze has called on NATO to abandon its modernization plans for Lance nuclear missiles and to start immediate talks on scrapping tactical nuclear arms. The United States and Britain are against such talks, but the idea of holding them is supported by the FRG and most NATO countries, appearing to share the Soviet foreign minister's belief that Moscow might halt the deployment of its own nuclear missiles if NATO modernizes its tactical nuclear weapons."

Bonn

"The federal government," ZI Aktiv office correspondent for the FRG capital stated, "agreed with minister of the Soviet leader's proposal on unilateral tactical nuclear weapon cuts." FRG Defense Minister G. Stoltenberg noted: "The Soviet disarmament initiative is a step in the right direction."

"The large-scale new Soviet disarmament proposals demonstrate the USSR's willingness to do everything necessary to remove existing obstacles to disarmament and detente," E. Weber, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Party, stated. "Unfortunately, the USSR's efforts to expedite the detente process are meeting with opposition from forces which oppose the achievement of the 'third zero option' and insist on retaining the obsolete 'deterrence' strategy. The Warsaw Pact countries are proposing that NATO eradicate the imbalance in certain types and categories of arms in order to achieve lower levels of these arms. The Soviet proposals aimed at stepping up the disarmament process show that new thinking is the basis of the socialist countries' policy."

London

"Washington has again taken action to boost diplomatic talks, since the U.S. secretary of state has been unable to find any impressive response to the new Soviet peace initiatives," Britain's OBSERVER states in summing up the results of U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker's Moscow visit. "NATO's differences on the short-range nuclear missiles now have intensified still further following the USSR's decision to remove 500 nuclear warheads from the Warsaw Pact countries. Whereas the United States saw this as a propaganda proposal, the FRG, conversely, has welcomed the Soviet initiative. Western diplomats in the U.S. capital are saying that they are 'bewildered' by the U.S. administration's inability to cope with the crisis in NATO or to do anything in response to it." [passage omitted]

CEMA Executive Committee Starts Work in Moscow

LD1605172389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 16 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The 131st session of the CEMA Executive Committee began its work in Moscow today. The participants in the session will discuss topical questions concerning the restructuring of the mechanism of multilateral cooperation between the CEMA states, and, first and foremost, enhancing the role of direct links between their enterprises, associations, and organizations. For it is no secret that the effect of this activity is still not great. It is the differences in the systems of individual countries' economies that is holding things up, as well as imperfections in contractual-legal relations.

How can a way out of the deadlock be found? Specialists believe that one condition would be the extension to financial autonomy and self-financing to international economic and scientific organizations, an extension of the rights linked with exchange of goods and services, and the utilization of national currencies based on mutual calculations.

The CEMA Executive Committee will analyze the directions of work in stepping up the social side of cooperation—in other words, the fulfillment of the numerous programs for extending the range and improving the quality of consumer goods and increasing mutual exports. And this is particularly important if one takes into account the fact that in recent years the growth of real per capita incomes has been noticably reduced in the majority of the CEMA states. There is still a shortage of basic consumer goods on their markets, which at times is getting worse.

At this session of the CEMA Executive the participants are also exchanging opinions on how the integrated program of scientific-technical cooperation between our countries is being implemented, especially on nuclear power engineering and biotechnology.

CEMA Spokesman Gives Briefing

LD1605153489 Prague CTK in English 1431 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 16 (CTK correspondent)—Increasing role of direct contacts between enterprises and associations of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) member states together with deepening specialization and cooperation in production is one of the tasks of CMEA cooperation to be discussed at the 131st session of its Executive Committee which opened here today.

This was stated at a news conference at the CMEA headquarters here today by head of the CMEA Secretariat Information Department Bronislav Sova.

The most significant conditions for deepening and improving direct contacts is to create identical between the member states' national economic mechanisms, he said.

First of all it is necessary to create conditions for extension of international economic and scientific-technological associations to self-accounting and self-financing and extend the scope for their activity. It is also necessary to extend the rights of the participants in the direct contacts linked to the exchange of goods and services on a mutual contractual basis, and to develop practical use of national currencies on mutual accounting.

The CMEA Executive Committee will also analyze problems linked to intensification of the social orientation of the CMEA countries' economic and scientific-technological cooperation, Bronislav Sova stressed. In this context he pointed out the continuing deficit on basic consumer goods on home markets of many CMEA countries as well as insufficient development of the material-technical bases of the health care, education and housing construction.

Ways to overcome these problems must be sought both in the framework of each country's economic and social policy and with maximum use of the possibilities offered by the international division of labour and bilateral as well as multilateral cooperation, the CMEA spokesman said.

Nekula Leads Polish Delegation

LD1605172489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] The CEMA Executive Committee is holding a meeting in Moscow. Deputy Premier Janusz Nekula is heading the Polish delegation to the talks.

The main aim of the deliberations is to discuss the implementation of the new principles of economic cooperation of the socialist countries, based on mutual economic gain. The fact that for the first time journalists were allowed into the meeting hall is worth pointing out.

CSSR's Obrovsky Attends Meeting

LD1605164489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] In the Soviet Union Jaromir Obrovsky, Czechoslovak vice premier, met Igor Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in Moscow yesterday. Both representatives discussed various ideas designed to intensify Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation in the field of consumer electronics and other questions concerning mutual economic relations in the period ahead. Jaromir Obrovsky is in Moscow attending the 131st session of the CEMA Executive Committee.

SFRY-CEMA Trade Imbalance Noted

[illegible] [illegible] Belgrade [illegible] in English
[illegible] GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Moscow, May 16 (TANJUG)—Member of the Yugoslav Government Branislav Pavicevic, who heads the Yugoslav delegation at the session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) Executive Committee in Moscow, warned that the imbalance would in the following period continue burdening the mutual economic relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and the CMEA member-countries if mutual measures are not taken to reduce the Yugoslav surplus in trade with a number of the group's member-countries.

Yugoslavia participates in the work of the Executive Committee in keeping with the agreement on cooperation and participation in certain CMEA programs.

Journalists of the CMEA member-countries attended the Executive Committee session for the first time in CMEA's 40 years. The Socialist CMEA building in Moscow was to be completely closed to the media and communication with the public was achieved through announcements and publications.

Pavicevic said that trade between Yugoslavia and the CMEA member-countries and their participation in Yugoslavia's foreign exchange have been decreasing over the past few years due to Yugoslavia's surplus.

He said that Yugoslavia had analyzed the report on CMEA's work between the two sessions with great attention and assessed that the activities results in relations between Yugoslavia and the CMEA member-countries were based on mutually beneficial cooperation, in which Yugoslavia takes part in many multi-lateral agreements on cooperation, specialization and scientific-technological cooperation.

Joint Military Exercises Begin in GDR

[illegible] Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian [illegible] GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Berlin, 17 May (TASS)—A joint troop exercise of the Groups of Soviet Forces in Germany and the National People's Army of the GDR began today on the territory of the GDR in the region of Cottbus, Magdeburg, Brandenburg, Neuruppin and Prenzlau. There are [illegible] military servicemen participating in it. The aim of the exercise is to work through matters of command [illegible] and interaction and to improve the troops' field training.

In accordance with the Stockholm conference document, the Governments of the GDR have invited observers from all the participant states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to come to the exercise.

Pact Information Group's Bucharest Meeting Noted

[illegible] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 May 89 [second Edition]

[TASS report: "Warsaw Session"]

[Text] Bucharest, 17 May—A session session of the multilateral current session information group congressing representatives of the Warsaw Pact states was held in the Romanian capital [illegible] May.

The session exchanged opinions and information on current pressing international questions of mutual interest, including the further development of the all-European process and the settlement of regional conflicts by political means.

Shevardnadze Sends Letter on Environment to UN

PM161107Z89 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[Undated letter from USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze: "To UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar"]

[Text] Excellency Mr General Secretary,

In reply to the enquiry contained in Resolution 43/196 of the 43d UN General Assembly session on the views of governments about the convocation of a UN conference on the environment and development in June 1992, I am sending you the following ideas.

The Soviet Union has supported the General Assembly resolution. It is convinced that this conference is to be a most important event in international environmental protection. It will, to a great extent, determine the strategy for the ecological well-being of our planet. Hence the USSR has proposed that the conference be held at the highest political level, which would correspond to the scope of the tasks facing it.

The conference should evaluate the state of the most ecological problems, generalize the experience of states in tackling them, and outline the main directions of nature protection policy for all countries and international organizations. Its participants could solemnly approve the norms and principles—a sort of code of conduct for states in the sphere of nature protection. It would seem that given the conference decisions an obligatory, juridical status—in the form, say, of a framework global convention—would make it possible to ensure strict observance of the rules of an ecologically pure common world home by all states.

The conference should examine with special attention the organizational side of international cooperation in nature conservation, on which our ability to solve efficiently the tasks of ensuring the ecological safety of humankind depends. The UN environment program (UNEP), the central link of the international environment protection mechanism, needs to be substantially strengthened. It is a question of strengthening its coordinating role, expanding its material base and improving the work of its decision- and recommendation-making bodies.

It is necessary to comprehensively study and use for nature protection purposes the potential of such main organs of the United Nations as the Security Council and the International Court. For example, a special committee for ecological issues could be set up under the Security Council.

The problems of spreading and broadly using advanced nature and resource-saving technologies should be given due prominence at the conference. In the final analysis, the general situation on earth depends also on the degree to which every country is provided with technical possibilities for maintaining a clean and stable environment.

It is also expedient to dwell during the conference discussion on the fact that the upkeeping of ecological equilibrium is not only a condition of the international success of efforts aimed at nature protection, but also a powerful factor for confidence-building. For its part, the USSR favors the adoption of far-reaching measures, such as regular and strict accountability of states about the national nature protection activity and about all the ecological incidents on their territory.

Questions of monitoring, assessing, and forecasting changes in the environment require particular attention. In connection with this I would like to recall the proposals put forward by the USSR at the 43d General Assembly session about monitoring (control) from space the state of nature on earth, and creating a center for urgent ecological aid under the UN organization. One could start implementing these ideas right now.

The conference recommendations on converting a proportion of military production to nature-protection aims would have a favorable effect on the world ecological situation. It has long been time to resolve the question of creating an international ecological fund, in the first place from resources saved by arms limitation and disarmament measures.

Under contemporary conditions the task of forming a new ecological consciousness is acquiring primary importance. The person who here should be given to educating the young generation. Proposals for a corresponding restructuring of public education could become part of the conference decisions.

Informed public opinion is capable of favorably influencing the adoption of socially justified ecological decisions. It is necessary for the conference to facilitate the establishment of effective interaction between international organizations and those public movements which exist out for a clean planet.

Careful preparatory work and the coordination of the planned international conferences and meetings will be required for the 1992 conference to be held successfully. The UNEP Governing Council could be put in direct charge of this work, or a special preparatory committee with open membership could be set up.

As far as the title of the conference is concerned, there it must reflect the essence of the problems which will be discussed at it. In this case it is appropriate to talk about ensuring international ecological safety—that means protecting and raising the quality of the environment, linked with stable development.

It would be expedient to hold the conference in the middle of 1991. The question concerning the venue for its convocation can be solved during consultations among interested states.

The Soviet Union considers that the IAEC conference will fulfill its task if it ensures that maximum account is taken of the interests of all countries and all mankind, whose development in harmonious interaction with the environment is becoming one of the main conditions for its survival and future safe existence. We are convinced that an ecologically clean world is an objective which can be achieved.

With respect

[Signed] I. Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister.

Nuclear Operators Conference Meets in Moscow

LD151017*BW Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS—A founding conference of the World Association of Nuclear Operators has gathered in Moscow, addressing the participants, Lord Walter Marshal, chairman of Britain's Central Electricity Generating Board and co-chairman of the newly-founded World Association of Nuclear Operators, said that the convening of the meeting in Moscow was clear proof that the Soviet Union favoured international cooperation in nuclear energetics. He pointed out that the inauguration of the World Association of Nuclear Operators was an excellent example of East-West cooperation and a response to the policy of restructuring and openness in the field of nuclear energy.

All energy companies of the world ought to work in close cooperation and help each other in enhancing NPP [nuclear power plant] reliability and safety, to emulate positive experience and to avoid the mistakes of the past, Lord Marshall said. He said that the accidents at Windscale in Britain, at Three-Mile Island in the United States and at Chernobyl in the USSR had taught everybody this lesson.

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the World Association of Nuclear Operators will complement each other, Dr Hans Blix, IAEA director-general, said addressing the conference. So far there are still serious discrepancies in the indicators of the NPP performance both between countries and on the national level. They have to do not with the type of the reactors used, but first and foremost with the quality of management and operation. That is why exchanges between the operating personnel of different NPP's are of such importance, which is what the World Association of Nuclear Operators proposes to organize. These exchanges will complement the IAEA's advisory services in the field of nuclear power safety.

Over 1,000 reactor-years of operation, accumulated in the world, represent a significant body of industrial experience while the record of nuclear energetics in terms of safety is not inferior to that in other energy fields, Hans Blix said. However the Three-Mile Island and Chernobyl accidents have undermined many people in their apprehensions concerning nuclear power safety and only many years of safe NPP operation everywhere will help dispel public apprehensions.

The activities of the world association of nuclear operators will be of decisive importance for a commensurate expansion and safe utilization of nuclear energy, Hans Blix said.

Representatives of 30 Countries Attend

LD151017*BW Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 15 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The communist conference of the world association of organizations using atomic power stations took place in Moscow today.

Managers of large nuclear power engineering companies from over 30 countries are taking part in the forum's work. Comrade Ryzhkov sent a message of greetings to participants and guests of the conference. Today, 410 power units of atomic power stations are operating in 27 countries. They account for about 15 percent of the entire electric power generated in the world. Despite the fact that in the last few years a tendency toward reducing national programs for developing atomic power engineering has taken shape, atomic power engineering is developing quite rapidly. Thus, 109 power units are under construction. The new organization sees its task in coordinating the activity of all the firms and organizations which operate atomic power stations. [passage omitted] [video shows conference proceedings]

Yakovlev Addresses Nuclear Forum

PM170508*BW Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "International Conference"]

[Text] Despite its youth, nuclear energy has become an independent sector of power production. It now generates approximately 15 percent of world electricity output. In addition to this, more than 400 nuclear power units are being built in many countries.

Mankind will be able to profit from the advantages of nuclear energy only if nuclear power station safety is maintained at the highest possible level. This thought was emphasized at an international conference which opened in Moscow 15 May and which will establish a worldwide association of organizations operating nuclear power stations. Its task is to organize on a world

visit an exchange of experience of operating nuclear power stations and of joint efforts to raise their general safety to the level attained on the world's best nuclear stations.

The international forum, in whose work the leaders of large nuclear electricity companies from more than 30 countries are participating, was opened by N.I. Lukonin, USSR minister of nuclear power generation. He handed the floor to B.Ye. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The Soviet Union, the speaker said, has always striven for broad cooperation with all countries and international organizations on the subject of developing nuclear power. Without it mankind cannot resolve economic and ecological problems. The accident at Chernobyl and events at other nuclear power stations have placed on the agenda the need to pool and channel the efforts of world science and technology into sharply improving the safety and reliability of nuclear power stations. The worldwide association being set up will devote its activity to this noble task.

Then B.Ye. Shcherbina read out the text of a greetings message from N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to the conference participants and guests.

The audience listened to N.I. Lukonin's report on the state of and the development prospects for nuclear power in the USSR. Lord W. Marshall, chairman of Britain's Central Electricity Generating Board, familiarized them with the work of the coordinating committee on preparing for the conference. H. Blix, director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency, delivered a report on the subject "International Cooperation on the Sphere of Further Improving the Safety and Operation of Nuclear Reactors."

Ryzhkov Message Greets Conference

PM170710Z89 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[N. Ryzhkov greetings message: "To the Participants and Guests of the Constituent Conference of the World Association of Organizations Operating Nuclear Power Stations"]

[Text] I greet the participants and guests of the constituent conference of the World Association of Organizations Operating Nuclear Power Stations.

The creation of this nongovernmental organization reflects the positive processes which are taking place in the modern world. While giving credit to the actions being taken in parliamentary and intergovernmental levels to resolve many of the most important tasks of development and the safety of civilization, it is essential to stress also the significance of international cooperation from public and scientific organizations and business circles in this sphere.

We are living at a time when, for the first time in history, a process of the real reduction of nuclear arms has begun. But solving the most complex ecological and energy problems is no less significant for the future. The "greenhouse" effect, desertification, the deterioration of the ozone layer, and acid rain recognize no state boundaries and can be stopped only by all countries' joint efforts. In the world more and more power is consumed every year, and a further increase in its production entails increasing difficulties, which also requires the world community's combined forces.

Nuclear power makes it possible to satisfy mankind's power requirements in the foreseeable future without irreversible ecological infringements on his environment. But the extensive utilization of nuclear power stations is possible only if their safety is guaranteed. Effective international cooperation, the constant exchange of experience, and mutual scientific and technical assistance can help to resolve this task successfully.

The Soviet Government sees the creation of the World Association of Organizations Operating Nuclear Power Stations as a significant step in uniting efforts to create an international system for the safe development of nuclear power.

I wish all the participants and guests of the conference fruitful work for the good of mankind, and in the interests of lasting peace and social progress.

[Signed] N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

Scientist Views Nuclear Association

LD1907193689 Moscow TASS in English 1949 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 19 TASS—The creation of the World Association of Nuclear Operators is the right road to ensuring safe development of nuclear power on an international scale, Armen Abagyan, director of the All-Union Research Institute for the Maintenance of Nuclear Power Stations, told TASS. Abagyan is deputy chairman of the organizing committee of the association's constituent conference, held in Moscow.

Abagyan expressed the confidence that the USSR's participation in this international organization will have a practical effect on ensuring safe operation of nuclear power stations.

"The membership in the association presupposes lots of all complete openness with regard to partners," the scientist said. "And this will help right, to formulate the public opinion with regard to nuclear power."

"The Chernobyl accident will undoubtedly influence public opinion for long, as the same time, public opinion plays a positive role, helping enhance responsibility at all the stages of creation and maintenance of nuclear power stations."

Petrovskiy Meets With IAEA Director Hans Blix

LD1905172189 Moscow TASS in English 1717 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 19 TASS—Hans Blix, director-general of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), staying in Moscow in connection with the constituent conference of the World Association of Nuclear Operators, had a meeting on Tuesday with Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister.

During a substantive exchange of opinions on various aspects of the activity of IAEA and its role in the system of international organizations, the Soviet side highly appraised the agency's efforts in implementing control over non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and establishing international cooperation in the area of peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

Special attention was given to the discussion of questions of safe development of nuclear power. The Soviet side emphasized the importance of efforts of the agency in the recent years to develop measures for the assurance of safe operation of nuclear power stations which account for a considerable part of electricity generated the world over. Questions of using the experience and intellectual and technical potential of the agency in resolving problems of ensuring safety of nuclear power, establishing norms and standards for the maintenance of nuclear power stations as well as treatment of radio active waste and its burial were discussed in this connection.

Hans Blix spoke about the efforts of IAEA in the area and shared his views about the agency's possible participation in working out problems of nuclear safety and improving the world ecological situation. He spoke highly of the Soviet Union's measures for improving safety standards of nuclear power stations, also withdrawing to the services of IAEA experts.

Petrovskiy Addresses Soviet UN Association Conference

LD1705171189 Moscow TASS in English 2044 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—"It is the task of the public to carry on a constructive dialogue on the most urgent questions, including those that are not ripe or desirable for discussion at inter-state level from the official point of view." It was stated by Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, who addressed the conference of the Soviet United Nations Association, which ended here today.

He dwelt on problems, on the solution of which the association could take part. They include transnational problems, which appeared on the agenda of Soviet-American (Geneva) summit, elaboration of preventive diplomacy methods called upon to prove this diplomacy's practicability to the international community, assistance to United Nations members, in their efforts to ensure the observance of the free opinion principle.

The work of the Association, as Vladimir Petrovskiy's opinion, should not be limited to the solution of problems directly linked with the United Nations. As an alternative to the nuclear deterrence concept, it could contribute to the elaboration of a concept of political containment, based on international control.

The conference delegates endorsed the Association's new rules and elected its central board. They also adopted an address to Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretary general of the United Nations. It says in part: "Regarding the United Nations as a unique forum for achieving generally acceptable decisions, conforming to the basic interests of all states, the conference participants see their task in promoting in every way the implementation of these decisions. By adopting our new rules, we expect to make our contribution to the fulfillment of this task and to step up our efforts in mustering public support for the United Nations endeavours, to raise its efficiency and prestige."

Warsaw Pact's Lushev Attends London Conference

Warsaw Pact Chief Arrives in London

LD1905171189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] London, 19 May (TASS)—Army General P.G. Lushev, Commander-in-Chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member-states, arrived in the British capital today. He was invited to Britain by D. Beddow, director of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies (RUSI), to take part in a conference on problems of military policy, disarmament, and security in Europe.

The same day, the Soviet military commander visited the RUSI, acquainted himself with its activity, and met members of the Institute's council.

Lushev Previews Agenda

PM1905111189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Army General P.G. Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, by unnamed KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent; date and place of interview not given: "For the Sake of Stable Peace in Europe"—first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] Army General P.G. Lushev, commander-in-chief, Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, began a 4-day visit to Britain on 19 May. On the eve of the visit he received a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent and answered a number of his questions.

[Correspondent] Has a Warsaw Pact commander in chief or have you personally ever had a visit of this kind before?

[Luebke] As far as I know, nothing of this kind has ever happened. It is truly without precedent. I have been invited to Britain by David Bolton, director of the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), to take part in a conference on problems of military policy, disarmament, and security in Europe, which is being held by that institute.

It is thought that in the course of the visit I will be received by British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe and Defense Secretary George Younger. Meetings are also planned with Archibald Hamilton, minister of state for the Armed Forces, and General Richard Vincent, chief of the Defense Staff. Furthermore, the organizers of the conference have asked me to speak to the conference participants about certain aspects of the Warsaw Pact's activities in strengthening peace and confidence building.

It is expected that the conference will be addressed by General John Galvin, NATO supreme allied commander Europe. Thus the first unofficial contact could take place between the commanders in chief of the two opposing groupings in Europe—a meeting which could hardly have been imagined even a year ago. I would like to believe that one of the key components of our upcoming dialogue will be the strengthening of mutual understanding and the elimination of distorted notions about each other and of obsolete stereotypes.

[Correspondent] What aims have you set yourself, and what results do you expect to achieve during this visit?

[Luebke] It is premature to talk about anything specific. Above all, we will seek to explain our position during the meetings. Therefore we are expecting a frank and meaningful discussion to take place in London on problems pertaining to disarmament and the problem of ensuring reliable security. We will try to explain our approach to the solution of these problems, and we will listen attentively to the opinion of our opponents.

The Warsaw Pact states, guided by the new political thinking and bearing in mind the realities of the nuclear space age, published their military doctrine 2 years ago. As is known, its thrust is purely defensive and proceeds from the fact that under present-day conditions war cannot be a means of achieving political objectives.

We also believe that the level of military confrontation in Europe is excessively high. It does not correspond to a peaceful situation and carries the risk of a universal catastrophe. The military potentials of the Warsaw Pact and NATO must therefore be reduced to the level of sufficiency for defense.

In practical terms the principle of sufficiency for defense means the following, in our opinion:

The introduction of a nonoffensive armed forces structure;

The reduction to a minimum of strike weapon systems in the overall lineup of armed forces;

Changes in the grouping and deployment of armed forces in view of their fulfillment of defensive tasks;

Cuts in the output of weapons and combat hardware.

In tackling the tasks of ensuring universal security we have to make use of existing mechanisms and structures. And that includes the military-political alliances which exist in Europe—the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

Taking into account political and military considerations, as is known, the Warsaw Pact countries have put forward a proposal on opening separate talks on tactical nuclear weapons which would make provision for the reduction of these weapons to equal levels and their ultimate elimination.

The states allied to the Warsaw Pact are ready to conduct talks with the West in a constructive spirit, without unnecessary delays, in order to contribute as swiftly as possible to a strengthening of security and stability and ensure the achievement of mutually acceptable accords in the most effective manner possible.

We are, of course, aware that it will take time to restructure the armed forces with a view to achieving their sufficiency for defense. However we see the main points as follows. This principle can be fully implemented only on a bilateral basis. And meetings of the kind planned in London will unquestionably contribute to the achievement of better mutual understanding, the elimination of mistrust, and the search for ways of creating our "common European home."

United States & Canada

Bush Interview on Soviet Relations Cited

LD1703134789 Moscow TASS in English 1334 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Washington May 17 TASS—U.S. President George Bush gave an interview to THE WASHINGTON TIMES newspaper, in which he called upon the West to "be reasonably cautious" in relations with the Soviet Union.

"We are going to move forward with the Soviet Union and, as I said in the speech, as we feel comfortable to do," Bush said. "I want to do more trade with them, but also want to make sure it is in the interests of the United States, do more arms control with them, but I want to be sure it's in the interests of the alliance. We are not going to make it as it's unilateral in order to encourage this," Bush stressed.

Bush said he wanted perestroika and glasnost to succeed. He pointed out that he supported the idea of the USSR's membership in such financial and economic organizations as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). At the same time, Bush said: "I think we are correct in insisting on certain constraints on the highest technology going to the Soviet Union, or technology that could diminish our advantage in certain categories that relate to defense."

The U.S. President has once again rejected the proposals for an early beginning of the talks with the Warsaw Treaty member-countries on tactical nuclear armaments, which are put forward by U.S. West European allies in NATO. He said that it was necessary at first to correct "tremendous conventional force imbalance." "I'm not saying there will never be any discussion of short-range nuclear forces," the president stated. According to him, "it might be time to give some thought to how we can reduce along with the Soviets, provided we do not leave our allies in an imbalance and provided one side will not be able to respond more rapidly than the other in case something did break out."

"So I think this is an exciting time for new thinking and for seeing how real this change is, and we are going to have discussions with the Soviets," Bush said. The president stressed that the recent talks which U.S. Secretary of State James Baker conducted in Moscow "went far better than the press stories."

U.S. 'Dissent' Over Dialogue Observed

LD1703225489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2047 GMT 17 May 89

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Pavel Kasparov]

[Text] U.S. President George Bush has given an interview to THE WASHINGTON TIMES, in which he called on the West to display, as he spoke, sensible caution in relations with our country. I am far from claiming the last word of truth, but it seems to me that this statement is final evidence of a certain amount of foment even in the U.S. Administration's camps when it is a matter of the U.S. dialogue with the Soviet Union.

At first President Bush and his team in the White House spent a long time conferring and studied the documents in order to adopt a specific position in the dialogue between Washington and Moscow. Finally Secretary of State Baker visited the Soviet capital, had meetings with the leaders of our country and made a more than optimistic statement regarding the prospects for the development of Soviet-U.S. ties.

Now President Bush is again frightening the West with talk of Moscow's intrigues. We intend to develop relations with the Soviet Union, but at a pace that suits us, the U.S. President writes. I want to do more trade with the USSR, but in such a way that it accords with U.S. interests. I want to cooperate more with the Soviet Union on arms control, but I want to be sure that this meets the interests of the Western Alliance, he said. The impression is that the new U.S. President simply does not know how to get down to such an acute and important political theme as the dialogue between the Kremlin and the White House.

Nevertheless, to consider relations between our two powers—powers of such magnitude—only from the viewpoint of one-sided interests and benefits would plainly not be sensible. After all, history has already proved the perniciousness of such one-sided selfishness in political affairs.

Disappointment in Baker Texas Speech Voiced in U.S.

PM1707135089 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[Via Soviet article under the rubric "Our Commentator": "Stepping Out of the Shadow — to Which Direction?"]

[Text] Hearings have been held in Washington by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. These are the first of a series to be devoted to the examination of various aspects of U.S.—Soviet relations. The event should clearly be seen as proof that the protracted pause in a most important sphere of U.S. foreign policy is finally ending.

"I think that we have the greatest opportunity in the last 40 years to change the basis of the formula for U.S. foreign and military policy and move from 'cold-war' thinking to a new concept of relations between the two great powers," former U.S. Defense Secretary McNamara stated at the hearings.

Assessing the West's reaction to the proposals put forward by the Soviet side during U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's visit to Moscow, McNamara noted that on his view the reaction had been "skeptical, cautious, and unimaginative."

The former U.S. defense secretary is not alone in this assessment of the West's position, and above all of the U.S. position. "Disappointment" was the keyword in the assessment by many observers and politicians of President Bush's policy speech at Texas A&M University. The President repeatedly stated his intention to "step out of Ronald Reagan's shadow." The tactic of delaying and even retreating in the process of the further normalization of Soviet-U.S. relations can hardly be deemed the best way to do this. For instance, it is hard to assess in any other way the category U.S. rejection of talks on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe or the inclusion of the Jaggi[illegible]-claimed so-called "northern territories" on the list of preconditions for an improvement in East-West relations.

Bush, in the opinion of the French newspaper LE MONDE, "intends to quietly change his predecessor's course. This partly explains the slowness and hesitation for which the current President is being rebuked."

There is clearly another reason determining the tactics of the current White House incumbent. Like any Republican president, George Bush has to "pacify" his party's right wing. But his predecessor lost a great deal of time during his first term by playing up to the right-wingers. This is probably one occasion on which there is a direct reason for stepping "out of his shadow."

George Bush's position has cost him the support of one of the most respected U.S. arms specialists, Paul Nitze, who was Reagan's special adviser on arms and is now retired, told a NEW YORK TIMES correspondent that the U.S. demand that Lance missiles be modernized along with its refusal to hold talks on short-range arms "is politically responsible for most of Europe."

Sober-minded politicians consider equally unreasonable the idea that the Soviet Union will endlessly take unilateral steps to reduce military confrontation. "What if the Soviet leader is not accommodated?" TIME magazine asks. It provides its own answer: "There, in the opinion of many critics in the United States and abroad, Washington will miss a historic chance to put a stop to the 'cold war' and start changing relations between the nuclear powers, moving from competition to cooperation."

Commentary on Bush's Speech

LD1405111189 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] The public both in the United States and in this country has reacted with interest to the statements on Soviet-American relations that President Bush made at the A&M University, Texas, recently. Vladimir Kozyrev has this comment:

One can only welcome the President's statement that he sincerely wishes every success to perestroyka in the Soviet Union and seeks to develop friendly relations with that country. The same can be said about his admission of the need to use a new approach to Soviet-American relations. Make no mistake, the President said, a new breeze is blowing across the steppes and cities of the Soviet Union. The President also draws a very reasonable conclusion from this in my opinion. It's time to move away from the policy of containment and switch over to a new policy of the nineties, that will be taking into account in full measure changes taking place in the world and the Soviet Union itself.

If the President favors this process then he has to go all the way towards it. It's time to give up the doctrines worked out during the COLD WAR time and embark on a new policy. It means that Soviet-American relations too should be filled with the new content. Following the INF Treaty, the two countries should work towards signing more agreements on ending the arms race ("and] partnership for the sake of general security. In this respect the President's speech at the Texas university is a disappointment, and not only because it fills the new American policy with the old stereotypes of using force and of lecturing the Soviet Union but because against a background of benevolent and bold Moscow proposals lying on the President's desk, Washington's policy, as one American politician has put it, looks very unimaginative.

In his speech in Texas, for example, the President came up with the idea of an open sky, that is air flights over each other's territory. This idea is more than 30 years old. Since then plane flights have been replaced by satellite flights. Besides, in keeping with the decisions of the Stockholm conference, planes too are used for promoting confidence-building measures over the European countries' territory, including the Soviet Union. As for the Soviet Union's initiatives on further arms reductions, the United States, even after the speech in Texas, took no reciprocal steps that would suggest that it has really switched over to a new policy. Moreover, the Soviet Union's proposals, as is well known to some officials in Washington, "are not obliged to reciprocate; they say, to every compromise proposed by the Soviet Union. In fact the administration has even rejected one of the initiatives, that is the proposal of talks over tactical nuclear weapons.

The President ended his speech in Texas by good words, saying that America was ready to hold out an open hand to the Soviet Union for a handshake as it did during the meeting of Soviet and American soldiers on the Elbe river at the time of WWII. What actually remains is to translate these good words into reality.

U.S.-Soviet Trade Council Meeting Opens 15 May

Preview of Session

PM170713489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 May 89 Morning Edition p 7

[Own correspondent A. Shalnev report: "A Destroyer in Exchange for a Pepsi-Cola"]

[Text] New York—When the next annual meeting of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council [ASTEC] takes place on Monday in McLean, a suburb of Washington, something very rare in the history of ASTEC will occur. There will be a quorum and representatives of more than half of those American companies that are members of the council will come together.

I was not particularly surprised to discover this, because the present meeting differs from previous ones in the way the Soviet side is represented. Instead of the traditional delegations, for the most part made up of officials, this time the people going to McLean are those who, in simple terms, produce, buy, or develop goods, that is those who have the most direct interest in foreign trade in general and in American-Soviet trade in particular. Directors of plants and research and development institutes and leaders of collective farms and cooperatives are going. Of course representatives of ministries and foreign trade organizations are going too. But you could say that they are going in a new capacity, one that was determined in recent Soviet legislative acts, giving thousands of Soviet enterprises the right to work directly with foreign partners.

The opportunity to work without bureaucratic meddlement is attractive. It can be assumed that this is one reason for the great interest that American business circles have shown, and one reason for the growth in the number of ASTEC members. "In the last 3 months," Vladimir Cherkiss, first deputy president of ASTEC, told me, "over 30 more American companies have joined the council, including 6 whose annual turnover runs into billions of dollars."

The interest in trade with us is indisputable. No one can seriously regard the current level of trade exchange, only $3 billion, as adequate. After all, the two countries have a joint gross national product of over $6 trillion. "We believe," D. Andreas, chairman of the board of directors of the Archer-Daniels-Midland company and cochairman of ASTEC, says, "that the volume of trade between our countries will grow." Both he and many of the businessmen and politicians with whom I recently talked consider it important for the successful development of trade links to revoke the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which introduced considerable restrictions on the supply of Soviet goods to America in the early seventies.

Undoubtedly, the elimination of restrictions will considerably change the psychological climate. But as Donald Kendall, head of "Pepsico," correctly observed, "the biggest problem is that it is very difficult to find goods in the Soviet Union that could be exported to the United States."

Another problem: What is to be done with the income earned by American businessmen in the Soviet Union? Take, for instance, "Pepsico," which now has 21 factories in the USSR and is preparing to build another 20. There are various options, and I read about one of them with great interest in a report in THE NEW YORK TIMES. It seems that "Pepsico" bought from us 17 written-off submarines (for $150,000 each), a cruiser, a frigate, and a destroyer. It bought them in order to resell them for scrap and gain presumably substantial sums of money, in dollars, of course. But we can hardly provide such deals for all the American companies who would not only like to trade with us and create joint enterprises, but also to receive a profit. Not in rubles, but in hard currency.

It seems to me that the meeting, which will be made up of many hundreds of business meetings between consumers and suppliers, will remove some of the uncertainties. Of course it is not impossible for new uncertainties to arise, both on the American side and on ours. And this is natural if we bear in mind the radically new bases of our foreign economic and trade operations.

Start of Session Reported

PM170713489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 89 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "Mutual Interest: Problems of Soviet-U.S. Economic Relations Under Discussion"]

[Text] Washington, 16 May—In the Hilton Hotel in the Washington suburb of McLean you now encounter at every step cornucopia baskets depicting crossed Soviet and U.S. flags—a symbol of cooperation. Their owners are approximately 600 people who have gathered from all corners of the Soviet Union and the United States for the 12th annual meeting of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council [ASTEC], which began its work today.

Over the past year both sides have witnessed favorable new changes in Soviet-U.S. relations, which could potentially result in a better trade climate. Despite the fact that U.S. business as a whole is still playing a waiting game, there is growing interest among U.S. business circles in setting up a partnership with our country. It can be seen from conversations with certain session participants that U.S. employees, in particular, rate positively the new Soviet legislation granting USSR enterprises and organizations the right to deal directly with foreign partners.

There is also progress in the sphere of improving opportunities for setting up Soviet-U.S. joint ventures, whose numbers—17 in the Soviet Union and 2 in the United States—cannot yet be considered significant.

On the ACCU sessions aimed to the wider discussion of developing cooperation and emerging from the abnormal situation whereby U.S.S.R.-U.S. commodity turnover does not even remotely correspond to their huge potential. The annual meeting is the most representative held in the United States. More than 100 Soviet delegates—representatives of ministries, foreign trade organizations, industrial enterprises, scientific research institutes, cooperatives and collective farms—are participating in it. On the U.S. side approximately 400 businessmen and several senators and governors are participating in the meeting. Speeches by U.S. Commerce Secretary R. Mosbacher, Agriculture Secretary J. Yeutter and a number of other administration officials are planned.

The meeting participants applauded a greeting message from M.S. Gorbachev, which was read out by V.I. Malmygin, Chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, President.

In addition to a discussion of the general prospects for trade and economic cooperation, questions connected with the creation of joint trade houses and the formation of consortiums and joint ventures are expected to be examined. It is planned to discuss specific areas of cooperation in the spheres of agriculture, power machine building, medicine and health care, the chemical and pharmaceutical industries, biotechnology, and tourism.

There is also to be a debate on political issues, specifically on discriminatory points in U.S. legislation which are still holding up trade between the two countries. It is a question primarily of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which prohibits the granting of most-favored-nation status to the Soviet Union. There is evidence that the administration and Congress are treading toward at least suspending this amendment, which is an obvious anachronism. It is noteworthy that such a step is advocated by one of the amendment's coauthors—former Congressman Vanik, who declared recently: "An embargo on trade with the Soviets will yield incredible benefits for America."

Gorbachev Message to Council

[illegible] 1400 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT 19 May 89

[text] Moscow May 19 TASS—Following the full text of the message of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to the 17th annual meeting of the U.S.-USSR Trade and Economic Council:

My greetings to the participants in the regular meeting of your prestigious organization. Its activity is an important part of the complex of Soviet-American relations, which is characterized by a constructive approach to the questions on the bilateral agenda. This approach was helped over many years to create the economic foundation for political dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States.

I hope that the sessions will further the mutual search for the solutions of the problems which exist, that Perestroyka facilitates this task, opening new opportunities for foreign investment and other forms of broader economic, technological and commercial cooperation between large corporations like the Drawing Institute and small businesses in the sphere of artificial harvests and their trade. I see real potential in these conditions. This applies to the large-scale development of relations between our two great countries.

I take this opportunity to express best wishes to Soviet people, gratitude to the American businessmen for their cooperation and readiness to establish ties with the people in America.

I wish fruitful work to participants in the [illegible] meeting.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev

Bank Lovers' Council

[illegible] Moscow TASS in English 1707 GMT 19 May 89

[text] Washington May 19 TASS—President George Bush of the United States sent a message to participants in the 12th annual session of the U.S.-Soviet trade and economic council in Moscow from Washington.

"I send best wishes to members of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Trade and Economic Council for your useful annual meeting," the message said.

"Since your last session in April 1988, much has happened in the Soviet Union which has given significant impetus to improved bilateral relations. Perestroyka is ushering in a period of economic reform and flexibility in the USSR which can benefit U.S.-Soviet trade and support the expansion of mutually beneficial economic ties in the president wrote.

At this historic time in our relations, the United States welcomes the Council's efforts to expand economic and commercial relations. Business contacts between U.S. firms and Soviet companies have proved significantly fruitful in part to the Council. This should lead to increased trade.

In particular, commercial ties between the United States and Soviet ministries, a large number of Soviet foreign trade enterprises, and private companies should [illegible] increased foreign trade and investment for the two sides. There is a constructive step which helps to overcome obstacles and to broadening the range of contacts between businessmen in the U.S. and Soviet commercial partners.

"I wish the Council and its members success in your deliberations," the message said.

Baker Addresses Seminar on USSR Policies, Aims

PM170121Z May 90 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 May 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "It Was a Good Meeting"]

[Text] Washington, 16 May—Speaking at a seminar on foreign policy and domestic problems, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker dwelt in detail on his recent visit to Moscow. He said that "what is happening in the Soviet Union is of a truly revolutionary character." "They," the USSR—[TASS Note] the secretary of state stressed, "have advanced several light years from where they were a year or two ago. That is why I think it important to acknowledge that the changes there are real. From our viewpoint, restructuring and glasnost constitute a real process. We would very much like it to culminate in success since, in our opinion, it will strengthen the Soviet Union's security and stability. We believe that this will be in the interests of the United States and the entire world."

J. Baker, who was received in Moscow by M.S. Gorbachev and had talks with E.A. Shevardnadze, then went on to point out: "In my opinion, we had a good meeting in Moscow. We went there to clearly indicate that the President wants dialogue with the Soviet Union on the entire spectrum of problems in our relations." He then indicated that the sides had succeeded in agreeing on the importance of joint efforts aimed at settling regional conflicts and resolving such questions as environmental protection, terrorism, and other global problems.

The secretary of state indicated the importance of arms control in U.S.-Soviet relations. "A great deal of attention," Baker stressed, "was devoted by the Soviet personal to unilaterally cut short-range nuclear arms by 500 warheads." However, the head of the foreign policy department described this new Soviet initiative as a "very small step," reiterating the well-known claims that this is allegedly the result of the West having kept its "determination and will." He indicated clearly here that the United States still refuses to enter into talks on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

Baker's Position From 'Bygone Times'

LD161735Z00 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1655 GMT 16 May 90

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Boris Andronikov]

[Excerpts] According to reports from Washington, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker supported the changes under way in the Soviet Union. He spoke at the so-called Washington Seminar which is discussing the principal foreign political and internal problems of the United States. [passage omitted]

Mr Baker has naturally his own opinions about the importance of restructuring which is underway in our country. I have no doubt but firmly voiced here that the Soviet Union nevertheless allegedly represents danger for the United States. I suppose it is not necessary to explain the purpose for which similar hints are made and therefore whether it really makes sense to enter into discussions on this subject with the U.S. secretary of state—especially as the majority of Americans now disagree with his point of view. [passage omitted]

But Secretary of State Baker gave a clear understanding at the Washington seminar that the United States, as before, does not want to start talks on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. Why? Because, said the head of the State Department, this would in fact destroy the strategy of flexible response, which is responsible for maintaining peace in Europe in the last 40 years. These are familiar words, are they not? They again confirm that Washington does not intend to change its wrong arms policy by claiming that it is allegedly precisely this policy which is responsible for preserving peace on earth.

So, as we can see, the new political thinking is not yet able to take over the minds of the U.S. political figures, who are maintaining the positions of bygone times although we are now in a period of restructuring of international relations and of rejection of obsolete views of the real state of affairs on the world arena. After all, life itself confirms that it is not confrontation but only political dialogue that can solve urgent international problems and thus promote the preservation of lasting peace on our planet.

U.S. Comments on Baker's Moscow Trip Cited

PM160715Z90 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 May 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent I. Kurilov: "View from Washington"]

[Text] Washington—The new round of Soviet-U.S. talks in Moscow is being widely commented on in the press and on television in the United States. The main attention is being devoted to M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker.

The commentators focus attention primarily on the fact that the USSR again came out with a whole series of initiatives on questions of arms control. The USSR's decision unilaterally to withdraw 500 tactical nuclear warheads from the allies' territory in 1990 arrived in Washington from Moscow with the "fixed" designation.

Many observers stress that the initiative in the process of arms reduction "remains in the Soviet Union's hands." That is the main idea passing through the commentaries summing up the results of the new round of Soviet-U.S.

talks. The commentators emphasize that the Soviet proposals are of a broad, comprehensive nature and they cover not only the tactical weapons question but also very important key questions of arms limitation and reduction.

Many people here are emphasizing in this connection that the Soviet-U.S. contacts have acquired a permanent and steady foundation. Observers note the progress in contacts between the USSR and the United States as a real chance and opportunity for putting an end to the "cold war." That is precisely what is emphasized by the latest issue of NEWSWEEK, which points out that "at no time since World War II has the reading on the scale of tension in mutual relations between the two countries dropped so low."

What is indicative is that the progress in Soviet-U.S. contacts is cancelling out the old stereotypes which for a long time determined relations between our two countries. The concept of the "image of the enemy" is disappearing. Propagandist duels are being replaced with realistic dialogues. The press can no longer frighten Americans with "the red peril." A whole series of commentators on THE NEW YORK TIMES, for instance, say that the danger for the United States today does not lie in the Soviet Union.

At the same time the "old threat" can be noted in the press. Thus former assistant defense secretary R. Perle insists that as many concessions as possible should be obtained from the USSR. The same idea is contained in the commentary by Evans and Novak who believe that "silence is golden," having in mind that the administration should be in no hurry to respond to the Soviet initiatives but should merely await concessions from the USSR.

But the majority of people in the United States insist that the Bush administration, as former U.S. defense secretary R. Macnamara stressed, should embark more actively on the implementation of its foreign policy course and be more active in the disarmament process.

The general assessment of the new round of talks in Moscow is that a step has been taken in the right direction. An optimistic step since it reflects the new process of mutual relations between the USSR and the United States. In the world today all problems require solution: regional conflicts, bilateral relations, humanitarian issues. But the problem of disarmament stands out particularly. Today it is the most important question. Every pause in the disarmament talks is the continuation of the disarmament process.

U.S. Press Continues Comment

PM170900 89 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Bovin report: "Soviet Deeds, American Words: THE WASHINGTON POST and THE NEW YORK TIMES on J. Baker's Visit to Moscow"]

[Text] Washington—The American press is continuing to comment on the results of the talks held in the course of the visit by U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker to the USSR.

The USSR's unilateral decision to eliminate 500 tactical nuclear warheads and the proposals on deeper cuts in Warsaw Pact and NATO conventional arms than those now under discussion in Vienna [sentence as published]. Noting the concrete nature of the Soviet initiatives, THE WASHINGTON POST points out in an editorial article that they testify to the consistency of Soviet foreign policy. "M.S. Gorbachev," the article says, "has a concept, a political course and plan, on whose implementation he works day and night. He is determined to implement the renewal of the country and to create a favorable international atmosphere for this purpose by improving relations with everyone."

In this context THE WASHINGTON POST regards as unjustified and unconvincing the attempts to represent the Soviet initiatives as some kind of "propaganda bombshell." "Baker patently believes," the article says, "that he was caught unawares. But why?" All M.S. Gorbachev's moves are well founded. They contain a clear, specific logic to lessen and eliminate the sense of a threat from Moscow felt by its neighbors and to give the Kremlin the opportunity to channel resources into the implementation of reforms."

"Soviet deeds, American words"—THE NEW YORK TIMES uses this assessment as the headline for its editorial article. By comparison with the Soviet initiatives, the newspaper believes, G. Bush's speech in Texas devoted to Soviet-American relations and the progress Secretary of State Baker took in Moscow last week are notable for their "abundance of opinions and shortage of content."

The newspaper points out that Bush's speech contained a call for a policy that recognizes the changes in the world and in the Soviet Union. "Bush should now incorporate these ideas in policy. Only then will he convince Europeans, Americans, and Russians of the seriousness of Washington's intentions. And there is no better first step than to agree to parallel talks on short-range nuclear weapons and conventional arms in Europe."

Fitzwater Casts 'Doubt' on Soviet Intentions

[Text] The White House has made a statement which eventually attempts to cast doubt on the sincerity of the Soviet Union's aspiration to ease international tension and present Moscow's peace initiatives in a distorted light. As the White House press spokesman, Fitzwater said at a meeting with journalists, the proposals recently advanced by the Soviet leadership in the field of arms control are in fact not what they seem to be. In his words, these initiatives are only words, not deeds, and the United States continues to expect proof and takes a very cautious attitude to the intentions of the USSR. Some observers deem such remarks by the official White House spokesman as evidence of a certain confusion and anxiety in the official circles in Washington at the broad response to the USSR's proposals in the field of disarmament. In the words of a CBS television commentator, the verbal attack by the White House is a sign of growing despair.

China

USSR-PRC Joint Communique on Summit Issued

[Text] Beijing May 18 TASS—Follows the full text of a Soviet-Chinese joint communique on the results of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to China.

1. At the invitation of Yang Shangkun, president of the People's Republic of China, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, paid an official visit to the People's Republic of China on May 15-18 1989.

On May 15 a meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping took place in Beijing. The two leaders exchanged opinions on Soviet-Chinese relations and international problems of mutual interest.

Mikhail Gorbachev had meetings and talks with Yang Shangkun, Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council.

2. The leaders of the USSR and the PRC believe that the exchange of opinions at Soviet-Chinese relations was useful. Both sides voiced the common opinion that the Soviet-Chinese summit marks the normalization of interstate relations between the Soviet Union and China. This meets the fundamental interests and aspirations of the peoples of the two countries and helps maintain peace and stability throughout the world. The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations is not directed against third countries and does not infringe upon the interests of third countries.

3. Both sides declare that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Republic of China will develop their relationship on the basis of universal principles of interstate contacts: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-aggression; non-interference in the internal affairs of each other; equality and mutual advantage; and peaceful coexistence.

4. The Soviet and Chinese sides are prepared to settle all contentious issues between the two countries by way of peaceful talks and will not resort to force or threat of force against each other in any form, including through the use of the territory, territorial waters and air space of third countries adjacent to the other side.

The USSR and the PRC take the view that strict compliance with these provisions will make for stronger mutual trust and friendly neighborly relations between the two countries.

5. The leaders of the USSR and the PRC reviewed the statement of the foreign ministers of the two countries on the Kampuchean problem of February 6, 1989, and conducted, with regard for the subsequent course of events, an all-round and in-depth exchange of opinions on a settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

The sides take note of the decision on a complete Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Kampuchea by the end of September 1989 under effective international verification.

The Soviet and Chinese sides express interest in, and deem it essential, that after the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops a civil war should not break out in Kampuchea. This presupposes the premise that Kampuchea will be an independent, peaceful, neutral and nonaligned country. With this aim, the sides favour national reconciliation in Kampuchea with the participation of the four Kampuchean sides.

The Soviet side abides by the position that Kampuchea's internal problems, including the preparation and holding of general elections under international control, should be solved by the Kampucheans themselves. It welcomes the intensification of the inter-Khmer dialogue and expresses readiness to support any agreements on various aspects of settlement elaborated by the Kampuchean parties.

The Chinese side favours the formation in Kampuchea in the transitional period following the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and prior to the completion of the general elections, of an interim four-party coalition government led by Prince Sihanouk.

Both sides will respect the results of the general elections conducted by the Kampuchean people under international control.

They hold that, as Vietnamese troops are being withdrawn from Kampuchea, all states concerned should gradually cut, and eventually halt, military aid to the Kampuchean parties.

The USSR and the PRC advocate the convocation within the shortest possible time of an international conference on the Kampuchean problem.

The Soviet and Chinese sides confirm that they will continue to exert every effort to facilitate a fair and rational settlement of the Kampuchean problem by political means. They agreed to continue the discussion of the questions of the Kampuchean settlement, among them those on which there are still differences between them.

6. Both sides agreed to take measures to reduce armed forces in the area of the Soviet-Chinese border to a minimum in line with normal good-neighbourly relations between the two countries, and also to apply efforts to build up trust and preserve calm on the border areas.

The Chinese side welcomes the announcement by the Soviet side about the withdrawal of 75 percent of its troops stationed in the Mongolian People's Republic, and expresses hope that the remaining Soviet troops will be fully withdrawn from Mongolia within relatively short terms.

7. Both sides favour solving the border issues between the Soviet Union and China fairly and rationally relying on the treaties on the present Soviet-Chinese border, the generally-recognised standards of international law, and on the spirit of equitable consultations, mutual understanding and mutual forbearance.

In keeping with the above-mentioned principles, the leaders of the USSR and the PRC agreed to intensify the consideration of the parts of the Soviet-Chinese border, on which agreement has as yet not been reached, to work out mutually acceptable solutions simultaneously on the eastern and western parts of the border. They entrusted the two countries' foreign ministers with holding, if need be, a special discussion on the border issues.

8. The Soviet Union and China will develop relations in economic, trade, scientific, technological, cultural and other fields actively, on a planned manner on the basis of principles of equality and mutual benefit, and help improve mutual understanding and further contacts between the people of the two countries.

9. The sides consider it useful for the two countries to exchange information and experience in the field of building socialism, restructuring and reform, as well as opinions on issues of mutual interest that concern bilateral relations and the international situation. Disagreements on these or other matters should not prevent the development of relations between the two states.

10. The Soviet and Chinese sides agreed that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party will pursue contacts and exchanges in keeping with principles of independence, full equality, mutual respect and non-interference in the domestic affairs of each other.

11. The Chinese side reaffirms: Taiwan is part and parcel of the territory of the PRC. It is strongly opposed to any attempts to create "two Chinas", "one China and one Taiwan" or "independent Taiwan".

The Soviet side supports the position of the PRC Government.

12. The Soviet side declares that in its foreign policy it proceeds from a vision of the world as the supreme value consistently seeks real disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, believes that the security of some states cannot be ensured at the expense of others, favours the priority of universally shared values and the peaceful competition of different socio-economic systems in conditions of freedom of choice and balanced interests.

The Chinese side reaffirms that the People's Republic of China follows an independent foreign policy of peace and firmly abides by the principles of not forming alliances with any country.

13. Both sides declare that neither the Soviet Union nor China lay claims to hegemony in any form in the Asia-Pacific Region or in other parts of the world. International relations should be free from actions and attempts by any state to bend their will on others and to seek hegemony in any form anywhere.

14. Both sides believe that peace and development have become the two most important issues of the times. They welcome the started relaxation in the international situation, which remained tense for a long time, and take a positive view of steps by different nations to reduce arms and scale down military confrontation as well as progress achieved in settling regional conflicts. The Soviet Union and China expressed readiness each to continue applying efforts in these fields.

The Soviet and Chinese sides call for increasing the authority of the United Nations organization and for it to play a more active role in world affairs, disarmament, the resolution of global issues and the settlement of regional conflicts. All states of the world—big and small, strong and weak—have the right to take part in international life on an equal basis.

17. Both sides display concern over the economic situation in the world, primarily over the worsening economic situation in developing countries, the growing gap between North and South and the acute foreign debt problem. They stress the urgency of establishing a new international economic order that will take account of the interests of peoples of various countries, equality and mutual profit.

18. The sides believe that the solution of global economic, social, demographic and ecological problems is crucial for preserving and developing world civilization, for the quality of life. They state the need for the world community, the United Nations and other international forums to pay more attention to these issues, to seek ways of interaction to alleviate and solve these problems.

17. The USSR and China believe it necessary to work for a radical improvement in the world situation. For these purposes the Soviet side favours establishing new political thinking in international relations, the Chinese side establishing a new international political order on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The above-mentioned positions and concepts of each of the sides reflected its perceptions on the nature of current international relations.

18. Both sides attach great importance to contacts and dialogue between the leaders of the two countries and intend to continue them in future.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership Mikhail Gorbachev extended invitations to Deng Xiaoping, Yang Shangkun, Zhao Ziyang and Li Peng to pay official visits to the USSR.

The Chinese side expressed gratitude for the invitations.
Beijing, 18 May 1989

Gorbachev 16-18 May Summit Activities Reported

16-17 May Activities Reviewed

PM170512Y89 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Special correspondents V. Kobysh, Yu. Savenkov report from Beijing: "Day Three"]

[Text] The extremely full program for the Soviet leader's visit began on Wednesday with a meeting with representatives of the Chinese public, workers and scientists, cultural personalities, and party leaders. They met in the Ceremonial Hall of the National People's Congress. After M.S. Gorbachev finished his speech (the text is published in today's IZVESTIYA), the participants in the meeting warmly welcomed the Soviet leader.

But now let us go back to yesterday, which everyone assessed as a historic day in the development of the two countries' relations. It is on that day that the reckoning of the new stage in Soviet-Chinese relations began. M.S. Gorbachev's talk with Deng Xiaoping was conceptual and served as the philosophical basis, so to speak, for further talks. The conversation revealed the broad coinciding view of the Soviet and Chinese leaders of the world and relations between the two countries in our changing world, which is moving from confrontation to cooperation under the conditions of continuing danger of nuclear war and the growing ecological threat. In the course of this historic talk virtually complete concurrence was revealed with regard to the new political thinking and the new international political order. This concept was put forward by Deng Xiaoping at the end of last year.

Let us observe that in the conversation that took place later, Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, said to M.S. Gorbachev: Deng Xiaoping has been the generally acknowledged leader of the party since the CPC Central Committee December 1978 Plenum, and although he has not formally been a member of the Central Committee and the Politburo Standing Committee since the 13th party congress in 1987, Chinese Communists still need his wisdom and rich experience. It was therefore decided that the leadership of the party and the country's most important problems remains as before. And that is why M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with Deng Xiaoping is regarded as the high point of the Soviet leader's visit to China.

Deng Xiaoping's picturesque phrase: "Let the wind blow away the past, let us look ahead" seems to continue his thoughts on the need to think about the future. Yes, there is still much unexploited potential for cooperation in the trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural spheres. Now our relations must be enriched and filled with new content. The consistency of views on the need for socialism to adapt was remarkable to the highest degree. Different times need new concepts. How we adapt to the new conditions, M.S. Gorbachev noted, and how far we are able to uncover socialism's potential, will determine its influence on the world. People in the Soviet Union show great interest in what is done in China, and this is not mere curiosity, but a desire to find something useful for themselves.

During M.S. Gorbachev's talk with Li Peng, great attention was devoted to a discussion of specific questions of the development of Soviet-Chinese relations. And, particularly significantly, there was talk of more advanced phases of cooperation. In the economy, for instance, this means joint projects, production sharing, and extensive cadre training. The more effective mechanism of questions was also discussed in the course of the discussion of border problems.

M.S. Gorbachev's conversation with Zhao Ziyang took place as if the two general secretaries had met regularly before this. The fact that CPSU-CPC interparty meetings were frozen for a long time was not even mentioned.

Cooperation in the sphere of ideology, which was discussed at this conversation, was one of the most important topics. How can the advantages of socialism be revealed? The processes in the two countries are to a large extent analogous, but in both there are hotheads who want the renewal of socialism tomorrow, "overnight," which is, of course, impossible.

...Let us come back to today. The city's central streets and squares are packed with people. Not only students are demonstrating. There are columns of office workers, journalists.... The slogans demand democracy, freedom of the press, a struggle against corruption and bureaucracy. The columns advance mainly toward Tiananmen Square, where 1,000 students are on the 5th day of their hunger strike. The long-drawn-out sirens of ambulances wail. More than 400 of the students have already lost consciousness, and they are being taken to the hospital. The majority of representatives of the participants in the hunger strike have decided to continue this form of protest, despite the fact that some of their leaders have stated. The discussion with Yan Mingfu, member of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat, was sincere. He assured his interlocutors that no student and no compatriot will be punished. A party conference will be convened at the highest level to study carefully the students' demands. And the students can receive the right to hold further strikes and demonstrations. The newspapers are publishing a message from Zhao Ziyang to the students, in which he assesses highly their patriotic movement, but asks them to take care of their health and stop the hunger strike.

Today M.S. Gorbachev and those accompanying him went to the Great Wall of China, and after that they viewed Beijing's most famous museum—the Gugong Imperial Palace that imposing monument of China's ancient and unique civilization.

And then back to work, this time informational work...in the sphere of glasnost. In the evening there is to be an appearance on local television and a news conference at the National People's Congress building for numerous Chinese, Soviet, and foreign representatives of the mass media.

Comparison on 16 May Talks With Deng

PM1705094589

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 17 May publishes on its First Edition on page 1 a TASS report on a conversation between PRC leader Deng Xiaoping and Soviet leader M.S. Gorbachev on 16 May in Beijing. The PRAVDA item, entitled "In People's China," has been compared with the Moscow Domestic Service Russian version published on the 16 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT pages 14-20, revealing the following variations.

PRAVDA omits quotation marks throughout.

page 19, column two, paragraph one, first sentence in PRAVDA reads: Beijing, 16 May.—This morning a... (adding dateline; deleting words)

page 20, column one, paragraph four, second sentence in PRAVDA reads: The interlocutors touched on bright terms [iz kriptonom plana] on the current... (adding "in broad terms")

last paragraph, second sentence in PRAVDA reads: ...for the invitation.

The meeting took place in an amicable, frank and constructive atmosphere. The following were present on the Soviet side: E.A. Shevardnadze, A.N. Yakovlev, Yu.D. Maslyukov, V.I. Ivashko, G.Kh. Shakhnazarov, L.A. Rogachev, and O.A. Trovanovskiy. The following were present on the Chinese side: Li Xiannian, chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference All-China Committee; Yao Yilin, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee, deputy premier of the State Council, and chairman of the PRC State Planning Committee; Wu Xueqian, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and deputy premier of the PRC State Council; Yan Mingfu, member of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat; Qian Qichen, PRC foreign minister; and Yu Hongjiang, PRC ambassador to the USSR.

Following the meeting, Deng Xiaoping held a luncheon in honor of M.S. Gorbachev and R.M. Gorbacheva (adding paragraphs)

17 May Activities Noted

LD1705122089 Moscow TASS in English 2046 GMT 17 May 89

[Excerpts] Beijing May 17 TASS—The third day of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to China started with a meeting with Chinese public in the chief conference hall of the building of the National People's Congress in the Chinese capital. Organized by the Academy of Social Sciences of China, the Chinese People's Society for the Study of International Relations and the Chinese Institute for the Study of International Affairs, the meeting was attended by several hundred representatives of China's scientific and artistic communities. Addressing the meeting, Gorbachev described the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting, the first in the past thirty years, as an important starting point in the relations between the two countries. [passage omitted]

Then Gorbachev and his wife visited the Great Wall of China which rightfully tops the list of China's ten most remarkable sights. [passage omitted]

Later Gorbachev was interviewed by the Central Television of China and Radio Beijing.

In the afternoon the Soviet leader gave a press conference in the Chinese capital. [passage omitted]

Visits Great Wall

FSU/MGIMO/[illegible] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 May 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Visit to Great Wall of China"]

[Text] Beijing, 17 May—The program of the Soviet leader's visit to the PRC environment here and today it includes a familiarization with the historic culture and art of China. This is seen here as evidence of Soviet people's tremendous respect for the Chinese people.

Today M.S. Gorbachev and his wife and the Soviet officials accompanying them visited the Great Wall of China. It is right: first on the list of China's sights. Its construction began 22 centuries ago, and the colossal edifice stretching for 6,700 km connected the country and its people against raids by nomadic tribes.

The Soviet guests visited Badaling Gorge in Yanshan mountains—the Eight Great Pass. Mighty stone block walls 6-7 meters high rise up along the mountain ridges in the north and south. The wall is 7-8 meters wide, which made it possible for five horsemen to ride along it at the same time. In the northern section of the wall is the Wangjinglou viewing platform, from where on a clear day one can see the Beijing suburbs 40 km to the south.

The motorcade arrived at the foot of the Great Wall. Thousands of visitors—from Beijing and other Chinese provinces and cities—devoutly welcomed the Soviet leader. M.S. Gorbachev, his entourage, and Chen Xitong, mayor of Beijing, went up to the viewing platform, where the guide told the eminent Soviet visitors about the history of the wall's construction and its role in protecting China's frontiers. M.S. Gorbachev showed a keen interest in these facts and asked questions.

When viewing the ancient monument M.S. Gorbachev stopped by a group of young Chinese and a lively conversation began.

M.S. Gorbachev: Hello, where are you from?

Voice: We are from Beijing, we work for a foreign company.

M.S. Gorbachev: But you, what is your profession, sir?

Voice: I am a chef.

M.S. Gorbachev: Chinese cuisine is very good. I think that it is the best in the world.

Voice: I think so, too. Thank you very much.

Voice: We welcome your visit to our country.

M.S. Gorbachev: We are glad to be here, too. You know about our visit?

Voice: Yes, we saw a report about it on television.

M.S. Gorbachev: Important talks have been held here. We told each other that everything that happened before is a thing of the past, and now we must go forward together.

Voice: That is also our wish, our dream.

M.S. Gorbachev: I should very much like for the young people of our countries to preserve the traditions of friendship established by the older generations. I have noticed that in the speech today—that hatred must be taken out and carried forward.

Voice: We should have done this a long time ago.

M.S. Gorbachev: Yes, of course, but I think that has taught us a lot.

Voice: It is a new beginning. Our relations will improve after normalization.

M.S. Gorbachev: I have talked with comrades Deng Xiaoping, Li Peng, and Zhao Ziyang. We discussed the economy. Soon our parties will cooperate, and how our young people will cooperate. We believe that the relations must be revived whereby young Chinese come to the Soviet Union to study. In our country, you know, we want people who want to visit China and to study its culture and language. Much can be done here and have great potential.

Voice: That would be good.

M.S. Gorbachev: I believe that this is how it will be. This is our fantasy. I am engaged in your problems for many decades and have faith.

Raisa Maksimovna and I are pleased to see you and believe that both Soviet and Chinese youth will continue the cause and achieve many things we have.

M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the Great Wall of China was covered by correspondents from many countries.

Interviewed on Great Wall by Moscow TV

LD171134/BBG Moscow Television Service in Russian
1600 GMT 17 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast: interview with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev by correspondent Tatyana Samoylova on 17 May on the Great Wall of China—recorded]

[Text] [Unknown voice] Mikhail Sergeyevich, may I ask a few questions?

[Gorbachev] Two or three, okay.

[Gorbachev] Okay. [Gorbachev chuckles] Well, more seriously, we sometimes feared to use the word honeymoon about this visit, but since this morning we have already been saying that the Great Wall of China has been overcome. Is this correct?

[Gorbachev] You have chosen a good comparison. I would agree with this. Indeed, we have covered a lot of distance, and I think, [Gorbachev rephrases thought] and I am convinced, being here and talking to the young people, that the roots of friendship among our people and the Chinese people have gone very deep, and it was pleasant for me to hear this from the working people of China themselves, and from the young people who have to pick up the baton. Because I would put it like this. Yes, this visit and the talks that have taken place over these days are a milestone. As we said with Comrade Deng Xiaoping and the other leaders, we have completed the first stage, and we will be going on and looking forward, cooperating and strengthening friendship. I think that a very important and significant stage in the development of our relations is beginning.

[Gorbachev] The popular belief here is that the highest foreign guest goes up the Wall, the most respect he expresses for the Chinese people, and the most readiness for cooperation. I understand that this encounter is but a fleeting moment in your itinerary. But even if it is only figurative, in our plans how high can we go? To which watchtower?

[Gorbachev] I have the impression that we are at the very highest peak, so as to survey the future of our relations. I am confident that good relations and cooperation await us, and I am confident that this is all attainable. I will say plainly: I have gained confidence in this right now, being here, in Beijing, talking to the leaders of China, meeting China's working people. And I am particularly delighted—you know, by the fact that today's generation of Chinese, the young people [Gorbachev rephrases] There are 20-year-olds here, we were talking to them, two groups, and they are very glad at what is happening, and they even say that it would have been good if this had happened earlier. Imagine, even a 20-year-old reckons that it should have happened earlier. But this is very important, because if this passes on from older generations to younger generations, then the matter will be in reliable hands. I believe that that is how it will be.

[Gorbachev] Well, of course, the disputes about who is more correct theoretically, who, so to speak, is more socialist, are receding into the past. There will be comparisons, but there will also be competitions—for markets for sales, for consumer, for getting the most advanced technologies in the world. Might it not turn out that a new wall could emerge from this?

[Gorbachev] I am confident that it will not do so. You know, we have great opportunities, first and foremost, to open up toward each other, and for cooperation. So far in the sphere of cooperation we have arrived at the first stage, the most simple one, let us say, the exchange of goods. But there are opportunities for deeper ties and more complex ties, participation in engineering projects in each other's country, and this is interesting. They are already actually being implemented, in Moscow, in the Soviet Union, and also here, with us taking part. There are conveyances built in the past by the Soviet Union, and now they are entering the modernization phase, so there are now opportunities to discuss this question, and incidentally, it is being discussed today with Comrade Li Peng and Comrade Ryzhkov taking part. I think that there are opportunities also in power engineering, in development of transport, in putting experience and implementing projects in the sphere of the agrarian sector, in light industry. You know, the opportunities are tremendous. I do not know where we will be competitors for sales markets. I can see that at the moment there is some re-uniting our efforts, in division of labor on the basis of specialization, and, as you know, great prospects could be opened up even in scientific and technical cooperation.

For the time being, I would put it like that, and moreover I think that naturally we should cooperate with China. Our common border extends for 7,000 kilometers. I have heard from our people in Irkutsk how they want to cooperate. I know the sentiments of our comrades in the Far East and Siberia, in Kazakhstan. Now I know the sentiments of the Chinese, and it is all inspiring.

I can say to our television viewers, our working people, our peoples that in the Chinese people we have people who value friendship and cherish it, and it has been a pleasure for me to confirm this and say that it has been perceived and exists in all the generations, not only the older generation, but among young people, too. That is very important. And so that is my strongest impression. But all the same, we are mostly busy with political issues, and I very much value these colleagues' contacts. They will, as it happens, has made such contacts possible for me. It has not been a dynamic, but on the contrary it has provided an opportunity to meet representatives of various generations of the Chinese people.

[Gorbachev] Yes, I think these 3 days have gone very successfully for me. Thank you very much.

Interviewed by Beijing TV

[Unidentified Chinese Television Service or Russian-Service] [7 May 89]

[Interview with Mikhail Gorbachev by correspondents of Chinese Central Television and Beijing Radio on 7 May at the Diaoyutai State Guesthouse; interview conducted in Russian—from the "Visiting" program—recorded]

[Unidentified correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich, I first want to thank you from the heart for the fact that despite the crowded agenda of your visit you have spared time for an interview with Chinese Central Television and China's

Beijing Radio: Your visit is a major event on which a close watch is being kept by the entire world, and of course by the entire Chinese people. I request that you say a few words to the Chinese television viewers.

[Gorbachev] Thank you! I thank Chinese Television for such an opportunity to talk to China's television viewers. I wish to take this opportunity and first of all convey a feeling of goodwill and warm greetings from all peoples of the Soviet Union to the Chinese people. And of course, I would like to express also on my own behalf a feeling of friendship to all friends in China. Perhaps I will not have a more favorable opportunity than this, and I would also like to say the following. Of late I have been receiving many letters from China, and here at the embassy I was handed many letters—cordial, sincere, friendly letters—many invitations to visit towns where the letters' writers live, to visit families. Here, through the embassy, I was handed a letter from students. I have read it. It was very cordial, with feelings of support for restructuring, for the great struggle our people are waging to renew socialism. This is something that brings us, our peoples, even closer together. On the whole, I now wish to thank everyone for the feelings expressed, as I simply won't have another opportunity to do so.

And now I want to say a few words about the following. I have discovered in these past few days that the words sown by Lenin and Sun Yat-sen have, nevertheless, not only produced shoots, but these plants, this tree of friendship has taken deep roots. I wish to tell all Chinese so that they know that in our people the feelings of respect toward the Chinese people are very deep.

[Correspondent] I experienced this when I was in Moscow recently.

[Gorbachev] Yes.

[Correspondent] And you have probably experienced this.

[Gorbachev] You can confirm that I do not just want to say pleasant things. I wish to observe that this is the way it is. But, you know, I get even greater satisfaction from the fact that there are just such feelings among the Chinese people. And it seems to me that this has enabled us, here in Beijing over the past few days, despite all the pressure, to feel well and do a lot of work.

I would speak very warmly in favor of these deep traditions of friendship—which unite our peoples and which time has been unable, we to speak, to devalue or weaken—in favor of these feelings growing stronger. In my view, now is the most appropriate time for this. And, availing myself of the opportunity, I want to say, so everyone in China knows, that what we are doing in the Soviet Union, within the framework of restructuring, implementing our profound revolutionary reforms, which encompass the economy, politics, the spiritual sphere, the sphere of culture and, nevertheless, relations, and in general, the whole of society, and what is now taking place in China within the framework of the reforms, which also encompasses all spheres—this brings us even closer together. In these past few days I have felt that we have something to tell one another.

[Correspondent] We have much in common.

[Gorbachev] Yes, much in common.

I think the friendly atmosphere we have perceived will enable us to use one another's experience, compare notes [observations], and thus avoid mistakes, but the main thing, perhaps, is also to help one another.

Well, perhaps this is a separate subject—what we talked about here during the meeting and conversations with China's leaders—but I want to say that I am looking to the future of our relations, to the future of cooperation between our peoples, with great optimism. I want to wish the Chinese people endurance—I know how indispensable it is! [Gorbachev chuckles]

[Correspondent] Correct!

[Gorbachev] Yes. The Chinese know how to work. They are devoted to socialism, just as our people are. And, I believe that both restructuring and the reforms will happen, even though this is not simple. This is not easy.

[Correspondent] This is a common hope...

[Gorbachev interrupts] Yes.

[Correspondent continues] of our two peoples.

[Gorbachev] I think that, in the final analysis, our expectations will be realized. I mean the expectations both of the Soviet people and the Chinese people.

[Correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich, you are the first of the top Soviet leaders to have come to China in the last 30 years. You have had dialogues with the leaders of our country on the normalization of relations between our two countries and on international issues of common interest to both sides. How do you view these meetings and dialogues? How do you assess them?

[Gorbachev] First, it is bad that there has been one meeting, the first meeting, in 30 years. But I think we have now drawn a line under that past, as we agreed yesterday. Comrade Deng Xiaoping used the expression: Let the wind scatter all that. I agree with this. We must look ahead. As for the talks and how I assess the results, permit me to say this briefly, because, in general, it is possible to talk about this for rather a long time and in fairly great detail. This is what I would say. The present visit and the talks with the leaders of our two countries that have taken place within the framework of this visit are a landmark event. I am very satisfied with

the atmosphere in which they proceeded. It was open and friendly. You know, I don't have the impression that we haven't met for 10 years.

[Correspondent] That's right. [word indistinct] of course.

[Gorbachev] I have already. [Gorbachev changes thought] I spoke about that yesterday. I am very satisfied, both with the first conversation with Yang Shangkun, who received me in accordance with his state position, so to speak. But yesterday was a special day—the conversation with Comrade Deng Xiaoping, the conversation with Comrade Li Peng and, in the afternoon, the conversation with Comrade Zhao Ziyang.

I feel that we, both you and we, can say with great satisfaction that the results of these talks are immense. We are moving up to a new stage, a line has been drawn under the past, and great opportunities for cooperation are opening up before us. We were principled, and we were frank. This enabled us to exchange views on a wide range of problems. We examined, at a philosophical level, the problems of the present world and the challenges time has determined for all politicians and all peoples. Truly, now—and we were in agreement on this—no people can fail to take account of the immense changes going on in the world. The world is small and interrelated, we all depend greatly on each other; great dangers—the nuclear threat and ecological problems—are lying in wait for us, and we are all, all peoples, both developed and developing, confronted equally by the same problems, and should adapt to the present conditions of international development.

In general, we depend greatly on one another at the present time, and this means relations should be built on this basis, taking into account the present special features and realities. We have spoken about this, that a new political thinking is needed. In China they have said that a new political order is needed. There is a great similarity in the views of the surrounding world. This made it possible for us to discuss many problems in a very fruitful manner.

As far as the problems, the present problems of modern world socialism are concerned, that was the focal point of the problems. And we were optimists in this case as well. Some people are inclined to regard the present problems being resolved by the socialist countries—each in its own conditions, taking into account its own special features—as all but the crisis, all but the downfall of socialism. No, of course, that is not the case. Perhaps someone would like socialism to go off the high road of history. No, it is not like that. I think the fact really is that socialism, via transformations, via reforms, and I repeat, taking into account the special features of each country and the stage at which one society or another is at present, is gaining its second wind.

I think the work the socialist countries are doing at the moment is exceptionally important for the peoples of the socialist countries, and taking into account the enormous weight of socialism in the world, this means for the fate of the world as well. In this, too, during the talks we discovered a great coincidence of views. And on many questions, perhaps the majority, we discovered a coincidence of views, although each of us spoke from independent standpoints, on the basis of equality, and there was an open setting forth of our own understanding of problems. It seems to me that an atmosphere like that even enriches meetings and discussions.

Naturally, Soviet-Chinese relations were the main issue. Comrade Deng Xiaoping and I spoke about them too, and we talked about them in particular detail with Comrade Li Peng and Comrade Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee. We observed that what is happening is good, but the possibilities at the disposal of our two societies, our parties, our peoples, our science and technology, are being used not only far from completely, but only to a negligible extent as yet. And today the talks that started yesterday are continuing on how to transform our common understanding and agreement to impart new dynamism to our relations into actual steps. This concerns political dialogue, and now, when relations have been normalized, opportunities are opening up for us for an extensive exchange on all questions. And I think that is useful for us. And, taking into account the weight—role the Soviet Union and China play in the world, what we think is not without interest for the whole world.

[Correspondent] Yes, of course.

[Gorbachev] That is the first thing. I think dialogue is now necessary between the leadership of the Soviet Union and China, since there are many problems in the world that are alarming people, as I have already said, and we must find ways of solving them. That is the first thing. We paid very great attention as to how to approach economic cooperation. Trade is trade, and it has its limits. But as for economic cooperation, for it to be favorable for us, for both China and the Soviet Union, that means our peoples, to gain benefits, and for it to help solve problems more quickly in the interests of improving the life of both the Chinese and the Soviet peoples—there is something to talk about here, and you can't solve it with trade alone.

We ascertained great opportunities and a whole number of spheres where these relations can assume a very large scale and be conducted effectively in the immediate future: power engineering, metallurgy, and transport. There is both a great need here, and there are great opportunities. They have already been arranged, and there are good results—and I think they could be bigger—in the spheres of agriculture, the agrarian sector, and light and food industry.

But what [Gorbachev changes thought] I think all our peoples are waiting specially for an expansion of dialogue in the sphere of culture of contacts. After all, we had developed them very widely in the past, but of late they have been weakened. You know our workers, representatives of the peasants and the intelligentsia, scientists, and artistic workers have been to China and done some traveling. They have been met with such cordiality and interest, and this has gladdened them greatly. Understandably, there is a large group present here, together with our delegation. They are moving widely, have spoken here and held meetings, and have very great impressions, and they are ardent supporters and rally of a revival of the great traditions, but also of their broad development; after all, the opportunities have been extended now. We shall welcome this cooperation in all areas. In the economy, we can now use joint enterprises and corporations. We can create new joint scientific organizations and the elaboration of scientific problems.

[Correspondent] Well, you have started a dialogue, and now these dialogues can be continued.

[Gorbachev] Yes, that is what we agreed. Do you know what? We have already agreed to set up working mechanisms in the main areas for implementing the accords. And so, you see, actually it will not be just plans, but it will already be actual deeds.

[Correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich, now is getting on [2] am one of the first questions myself). You visited the Great Wall of China today. What sort of impression did that symbol of ancient Chinese civilization leave you with? Can you answer briefly, is that possible?

[Gorbachev] Do you know what the first thing I said was, and all those who were there with me—and there were journalists, Soviet and Chinese comrades there, but also the press and representatives, and tourists? We all agreed that there should be rather fewer walls dividing peoples and rather more cooperation. That is the first thing to note. But in general, you stand on that wall, you know how it was built, and when it was built, in what years, and you think of what a great history this great people, the Chinese people, has behind it, and I am certain that this people will also have a great future. We want the plans the Chinese people have drawn up under the party's guidance, and for which it is struggling, to be put into effect in a [word] manner, we wish you all success.

[Correspondent] Thank you. I hope the majority of Chinese want that too.

[Gorbachev] You know, the small amount of contact I've had this week with that. [Gorbachev chuckles]

[Correspondent laughing] Yes.

[Gorbachev] Yes.

[Correspondent] What do you think needs to be done in the future to establish normalized relations of a new type between China and the USSR? How do you view the prospects for Sino-Soviet relations?

[Gorbachev] Yes, we talked about that and came to a mutual understanding. The main be relations between equal states, relations of respect, based on cooperation and noninterference, on reform for each other's values, culture and the right of each to have control of everything within their own country, and to be answerable to everyone in general, based on the universally recognized principles of peaceful coexistence. They are the principles the—following recruitment with new experience up—date—previous—have demonstrated their validity [illegible] is the way in which we shall act. And it's no disaster if certain differences come to light between us over certain questions. They were also present during the talks. But you know, each of us tried to broaden the arguments for our own viewpoint, and that enabled us to understand any particular questions more deeply.

So we want these relations to be [incomplete sentence as heard]. We probably decided not to return to the relations of the fifties, but to live there from the confrontation of the sixties and seventies. We emphasized the vast opportunities that are here, and care our particular struggle in favor of the idea that the border between our two states should become a border of friendship, and that we should proceed along the road of demilitarization, to the extent of transforming the border into a border of friendship and cooperation. Seven and a half thousand kilometers! People both on your side and our side are urging that cross-border contacts should move faster. Incidentally, they are already moving. People do communicate. So that will also enrich our relations. And I think that if each country acts independently, on the basis of its own responsibility both for the destiny of its own state and for the processes taking place in the world, China and the Soviet Union will make a greater contribution to the common cause of the peoples, in the interests of their peoples, and I don't think this will be detrimental to third countries, since neither we nor the Chinese leaders have been required to review our ties or our treaties with other countries.

I think there is very great understanding here.

[Correspondent] Now, I thank you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, and wish success in the cause of the Soviet people's restructuring, which is being conducted under your leadership. Thank you.

[Gorbachev] Thank you. And I want to thank the Chinese friends once more for their hospitality and the small contacts I have had, especially with young people today during my visit to the Great Wall of China. You know, I liked very much the way young people are receiving the restructuring and reforms, and the way they want rapid change with all their heart. Perhaps they would like

more than can even be dreamt of since. But one thing is that they are committed to the renewal of socialism and to friendship between our countries.

[Correspondent] Thank you, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

[Gorbachev] Fine. Thank you. [video shows Gorbachev and Chinese female correspondent sitting on armchairs; a small, low table stands next to them with a vase of flowers and a large green shrub in a pot]

Gorbachev News Conference: 17 May

LD1805172789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1747 GMT 17 May 89

[News conference given by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Beijing on 17 May. Gorbachev presents a statement, then fields questions from journalists—recorded]

[Text] [Gorbachev] Esteemed comrades and friends, ladies and gentlemen.

I want first of all to thank you for showing interest in our visit and in this press conference. I want to thank those of you who are here in this room and, at the same time, to thank all who are currently in Beijing, outside this room, covering the course of the present visit.

Our visit to the PRC is coming to an end. Over the last few days we have held intensive and concentrated talks with the Chinese leaders. We have made a brief—very brief, one might even say—acquaintance with Beijing and its sights, and we have had brief meetings, contacts, and conversations with the working people of the Republic.

Let me say right away that we are satisfied with the discussions and talks that have taken place. It seems to us—and I think we are not exaggerating—that they have been a major event both in Soviet-Chinese relations, and I think that from the point of view of the world situation I would describe these talks between Soviet and Chinese leaders in the same way.

A key moment in the visit was the meeting with Comrade Deng Xiaoping. We discussed fundamental questions of bilateral relations and the situation in the world on a broad and, one might say, philosophical and conceptual basis. Substantive discussions also took place with comrades Zhao Ziyang, Yang Shangkun, and Comrade Li Peng. In our common view, the Soviet-Chinese summit marks a new stage in relations between the Soviet Union and the PRC.

This meets the fundamental interests and aspirations of the peoples of the two countries and, no doubt—we are also firmly convinced of this—is of great importance for the improvement of the entire international situation. We have had a detailed discussion of the prospects for the relations of the two countries and have agreed that they will be based on the universal principles governing relations between states, on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

We and our Chinese comrades have proceeded from the fact that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations is not directed against third countries and does not encroach upon their interests. It is organically a part of the present tendency in world development. In other words, neither the Soviet Union nor China should by any means, after the talks that have taken place and the results of those talks, they should not—and that consequently not follow from the talks—act about re-examining their relations with other countries. What is meant, the stable and healthy development of Soviet-Chinese relations in itself, as we see it—and this is also the point of view of both the Soviet and the Chinese sides—will stimulate such healthy trends in the international community. Both our countries are pursuing a peaceful policy in the international arena, have no pretensions to hegemony in any form whatsoever, and consider peace and development to be two of the most important issues of modern life. We view with respect and understanding the independent course being pursued by China in the international arena. Chinese comrades are demonstrating a similar approach with regard to the fundamental principles of our foreign policy.

I can say with satisfaction that we have reached mutual understanding on many issues. Evidently, the commonness of philosophical approaches to the state of affairs in the world had an impact here. I have in mind the ideas of Comrade Deng Xiaoping on the new world political order and our new political thinking.

We advocated continuation of the dialogue at various levels and in various forms. In fact, the mechanism for such a dialogue has already started to take shape.

Two major states like the Soviet Union and China certainly do have something to talk about, and differences of opinion on various matters—and these were natural to us—cannot serve as an obstacle to this.

The subject for discussion will be, above all, such pressing problems of global significance as peace and development, the curbing of the arms race, and the prevention of an ecological catastrophe. We have points of contact on regional problems, too. Take the situation on the Korean peninsula. Our positions and the positions of the Chinese leaders are close regarding the need to reduce tension on the peninsula and the military confrontation between north and south, and, as we see it, this would be facilitated by organization of the broad inter-Korean dialogue, the creation of conditions for a normalization of the DPRK's relations with the United States and Japan, and certainly the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea. There are no logical arguments, really, for their presence there, in our view.

We exchanged views on the prospects of a Cambodian settlement. I think it may be said at the end of this fairly intensive exchange, which was the case, in fact, at all the meetings with the Chinese leaders, that we have begun to understand better each other's approach to this problem and have agreed to continue the dialogue.

There is no need to say how important the establishment of conditions of good-neighborliness and demilitarization of the borders between our countries is for Soviet-Chinese relations. We have agreed to work toward a reduction of armed forces in the vicinity of the Soviet-Chinese border to a minimum level. It has been decided for this purpose to set up a working negotiating mechanism.

Progress of the work on a border settlement was also thoroughly discussed. We agreed to give it fresh impetus and to this end provided for the possibility of a discussion of the most important matters at the level of our two states' foreign ministers.

In practically all the conversations held, the question of the expediency of utilizing the great potential resulting in Soviet-Chinese economic links arose. We shared a common view with Comrade Li Peng that cooperation needs to be put on a long-term basis and be given a long-term character, and that up-to-date forms of this cooperation need to be more widely introduced, such as direct links, joint production, the creation of joint enterprises and design offices, and so on.

Power engineering, metallurgy, transportation, and consumer goods production were referred to as promising areas. Comrades Maslyukov and Tian Jiyun, who are the joint chairmen of the Soviet-Chinese Commission for Economic, Trade, and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, continued the exchange today that was started yesterday. And, as Comrade Maslyukov told me, that exchange was very intensive and productive and led to a serious understanding and uncovering of new possibilities in all aspects of bilateral cooperation. The Chinese leaders and I shared the opinion that cooperation in the spheres of science and culture, health protection, and public education is desirable. Properly speaking, it has already started to acquire a new scale and new dynamics as well in all these directions. But what has been achieved up to the present is far from meeting not only the possibilities of the two great original cultures, but, what is most important, the wishes of the Chinese and Soviet peoples. Our scientific and cultural figures are also of the same opinion, including those who came here with us and who had many meetings with representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia of China over the last few days. And, as far as we know, the representatives of the Chinese intelligentsia are also showing great interest in our culture and the processes taking place in our country.

The normalization of relations between the CPSU and the CPC is among the major results of the visit. This was noted in the discussions with comrades Deng Xiaoping and Zhao Ziyang. Our parties are playing the part of the political vanguard in our countries, and naturally the ties between them will promote the development of Soviet-Chinese relations as a whole, for these are the ruling parties.

On the basis of complete independence and equality of rights, we can exchange experience in party work and compare our approaches to issues of the theory and practice of socialism. And I must say I became even more optimistic after the first meeting with the CPC general secretary, since we had already achieved a fairly in-depth investigation of these problems during our first meeting.

During our meetings and talks, we and the Chinese leaders exchanged information about the situation in our countries. It was an informal conversation, full of content. The Soviet Union is presently at a turning point. You are aware that a week after our return from China the Congress of People's Deputies, which will elect the Supreme Soviet of the new convocation, will take place. This will, basically, complete the first stage of political reform, but ahead lies extensive work connected with the harmonization of interethnic relations, judicial reform, the adoption of many important laws, and other tasks of restructuring.

The Chinese leaders in turn acquainted us with the tasks currently being tackled by their party and people. This enabled us to get a deeper impression of the results the economic reform has brought China. Both sides spoke frankly about the difficulties that have arisen on this path, on the path of the renewal of socialism in China and the Soviet Union. But our overall conclusion was that all problems can be solved within the framework of the profound reforms. The main thing is to seek optimum forms and methods of economic management, the development of socialist democracy, and revelation of the humanist potential of socialism.

But, finally, I would like to say that our stay here—our brief stay—has, of course, been mainly taken up by talks. That is the main objective of this visit, but still we have had the opportunity of acquainting ourselves with the ancient and distinctive culture of this great country and to sense the dynamic rhythm of its public life. Even the brief meetings in Beijing and the brief dialogues—including today when we visited one section of the Great Wall of China and had two meetings and conversations there with young Chinese people—have given us the opportunity to feel the warmth of the attitudes to Soviet people. This is very precious to me. Perhaps I may slip somewhat into an emotional reaction to all this, but I am human, too—I hope you agree with that—and, you know, I had a feeling as if these past 30 years had never been, because our conversations on all subjects were so frank and friendly.

I asked, and decided to check for myself, our writers and scientific representatives. They—I see many of them are present here—they have the same feeling. And this feeling gladdens us. On this I finish my introductory speech.

[Gerasimov] Comrade Gorbachev, let's move on to the questions.

[AFP Correspondent] A question from AFP. Mr. Gorbachev, have you seen the students, and what do you think of their demands?

[Gorbachev] I saw the students, perhaps less than you. I even had brief contact with some of them. I received a very warm letter from them, and in an interview with Chinese Television—at the same time that I thanked all my Chinese friends who on the eve of my visit and during these days sent many letters through the embassy addressed to me and addressed to the delegation—I also expressed my heartfelt gratitude to the students for their very warm letter which was rich in content. They very warmly greet this visit, which is moving the relations between our two great peoples and states on to a new phase. They warmly greet what the Soviet people are doing on the road of restructuring within the framework of democratization and glasnost, resolving revolutionary tasks of renewing socialist society. I appreciate their position.

[RIZOPASTIS correspondent] The Moscow correspondent of the newspaper RIZOPASTIS of Greece Mikhail Sergeyevich, your meeting with Zhao Ziyang has restored interparty relations. What will be the main sectors of cooperation between the communist parties of the Soviet Union and China?

[Gorbachev] I would not now like to express a complete, final opinion on this matter. But I would like to inform you that we have an accord which is, moreover, based on mutual understanding, on the fact that we are very interested in the development of cooperation between our parties. This is, above all, dictated by the fact that both the Chinese people and the Soviet people are resolving historical and revolutionary tasks on the roads of reform and restructuring, and they have before them many very complex and new tasks, and tasks that are similar in many ways.

Naturally, we have an interest in restructuring achieving its aims and in the reforms underway in China also achieving their aims with fewer losses, with fewer shortcomings, with less painfulness, and with fewer difficulties. And exchange will, to a certain extent, also enable us to achieve this, insofar as we really are to a large extent resolving similar tasks. We have come to feel that in the first instance what should be brought to the fore is cooperation in interpreting what we have achieved, and in forecasting, scientifically forecasting, the aims and new qualities of socialism that we are striving for. There is a large field of activity for our social scientists here. We brought this to light and reached agreement on this yesterday—that this should be a primary task. Finally, we recognized as essential that interparty contacts should embrace not only the top level, but also the regions, the party organizations in the areas where the reform process is underway in both the USSR and China. I think that including the experience of party organizations and labor collectives in interparty exchanges will allow both parties to enrich their experience, compare, see planes and measures, and bring to light positive aspects. In general, you know, in my opinion, a large field for cooperation is being opened up in that area.

[Unidentified correspondent in Russian] Mikhail Sergeyevich, I would like to continue this theme of interparty relations. Will there be any specific features in interparty relations, any relations of a new type between the CPSU and the CPC compared to other communist parties?

[Gorbachev] I think that what became clear at our meeting yesterday with the general secretary of the CPC Central Committee allows me to say that there will be broad cooperation that will embrace all problems that we discuss today with other communist parties.

You know, I think another thing in common will be something that has today already become firmly established in relations between communists and communist parties. This will be cooperation between equals on principles of respect for each other's viewpoint and experience, and noninterference in internal affairs, and this will be what we learned from bitter experience and have understood well and mastered, and are now transferring to the practice of relations between communist parties.

[Kozyrev] Soviet Television. You have been, it can be said, the exponent of the aspirations of our people who have long had the fervent wish that relations with China should enter a normal channel. Concerning this, what would you, here in Beijing, like to tell the Soviet people?

[Gorbachev] I would like to tell our Soviet people that I have seen and felt the very same thing in China, and we have all those present here in the delegation—that Soviet-Chinese friendship has taken deep roots in the Chinese people, and inasmuch as you and I know that the roots of this friendship go deep in our society, in our people, too, this must only gladden us.

One thing. It was with great satisfaction that I said when speaking on television to the Chinese people today that I was happy to see the genuine, lively, and sincere interest the young people of China have in what is happening in the USSR. And they even said to me, and I accept this as referring to me, that everything should have been done to normalize relations earlier and move them into a new stage. Therefore, I would like to say to the Soviet people that we have many millions of good friends in China.

[NHK correspondent] NHK Television, Japan. Mikhail Sergeyevich, as far as I know you discussed the Cambodian problem with Deng Xiaoping. What are the main differences?

[Gorbachev] Well, in the first place I do not think that during the present talks a political settlement of the Cambodian question, the Cambodian problem should take place. I think that this is one of the forms, one of the meetings where the problem has been discussed, discussed seriously, with great responsibility, in an all-round manner, taking account of all the realities and in the context of the present situation.

I think that we have very much that is similar in our assessment of the situation and even of its prospects. First of all, we understand that there can be only a political settlement of this problem. Any other approach is dangerous and could lead to these events developing in a dangerous way.

That is the first thing. The second thing is that a new situation, as was confirmed by both sides, is being formed in connection with the fact that Vietnam has announced the complete withdrawal of troops in September this year. That a new situation has been created. We were united in that the political process at the new stage of the new situation, will proceed favorably, in Cambodia's interests, in the interests of all the countries of the region, of the world community—for the whole world community has an interest in a political settlement of the problem—if all sides take part in this process.

So, as you can see, there was a great similarity in our positions. Both we and the Chinese leaders consider it important that in this case international verification plays a role. And so I would put it like this: We were thinking all the time of how to implement these opportunities opened up by the new situation. But, after all, conversations and talks are going on in other places, too, on this issue. And evidently, the most correct reply is that it must all be same be finally decided by all the participants in this process themselves in Cambodia itself. And so, in general, we had great understanding. I will tell you, and it seems to me that both the Soviet Union and China will do everything they can. But they cannot settle the matter on behalf of the Cambodian people. That is also understandable, I think.

[U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT correspondent] U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT. You stressed during most of our meetings with the Chinese leaders that China and the USSR can learn much from each other. Now, when you can see these crowds in Beijing with many people carrying the slogans Down With Deng Xiaoping and Down With Li Peng, what lessons do you draw from this for the USSR?

[Gorbachev] I understand your question. You know, in this case I would expect both myself and you to have a respectful attitude to the Chinese people. I would not take upon myself the role of judge, and I would not take upon myself the mission of evaluating everything that is going on today. That is the mission of the Chinese people themselves, and their party. I know there is a political dialogue, a difficult one, but it is continuing, is going on between the leadership, young people, and the public in connection with these events. It seems to me that we must welcome the fact that it is precisely a political dialogue that is going on. And I would like to express the wish that through political dialogue the solutions will be found that the current situation demands, and which the Chinese leaders and the Chinese people will find necessary and correct, in order that. [Gorbachev changes thought] I think decisions have been adopted that will continue the successful movement of China and the Chinese people along the path it has adopted, along the path of opening up the potential of socialism, in the interests of the Chinese people.

[PRAVDA correspondent] PRAVDA newspaper. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said yesterday, the Vladivostok speech helped the movement of our countries toward one another. In your opinion, what part can the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations play in the prospects for the overall Asian process you spoke about this morning at the meeting with representatives of the Chinese public?

[Gorbachev] I thank you for that good question. Do you know why it is a good question? Naturally, I think that this is, of course, the very region where the destiny of our civilization will largely be decided. The direction the whole world will take depends largely on the direction the processes here take. In this connection, I think we should welcome every step taken on the part of any state or group of states in a positive direction, in a direction that will improve the situation, relieve the tension, hold back or prevent the arms race that is present here, because here the process—let's say the overall Asian-Pacific Ocean process—is still not, in the formative stage. It does not yet exist. And in connection with the fact that at this crucial time a normalization of relations is taking place between two large states, peace-loving states—I would like to make so bold as to assert that they are states pursuing a responsible international policy—this is, in my opinion, an extremely important contribution to the improvement of the processes in this region.

[Unidentified journalist] In the desideratum of relations between the Soviet Union and China you outline[illegible] for the future, or to what extent is it a reality?

[Gorbachev] I think it is already a reality, and in that there are prospects for the future. But as you see, interesting spheres of cooperation are opening up in questions of theory, in what makes up ties between parties. So, if one is to talk about Soviet-Chinese relations, then that is no doubt a wider concept that will also embrace the sphere of interparty ties where the questions of theory and ideology will undoubtedly be a subject of discussion.

Moreover, we and the Chinese are very interested—and it is no idle interest for us but our destiny—in what the prospects are and what the process of renewal should be. Much in this respect is clear. In many regards we have reached new questions and found, it seems to me, correct scientific solutions to them. However, life is still coming up with much that is new. So, here too, there will be this cooperation, but at the same time, as regards interstate relations, we shall be strictly adhering to those accords based on principles that encompass the notion of peaceful coexistence, recognizing and respecting the choice by each of the form of organization of economic and social life, culture, and so on.

[L'UNITA correspondent on Russian] The Italian newspaper L'UNITA. The Soviet Union and China are both members of the UN Security Council. Did you talk about this with China's leaders, and are you providing for any types of permanent consultations on this area of cooperation?"

[Gorbachev] I would say that we perhaps discussed this problem at a different level. We discussed this issue in the following regard. Present-day realities require more interaction between states. They require more regard for and balance of their interests. I would say that at the present time one has an internationalization of processes, and in this connection the United Nations is being seen in a new way too. In this regard we were united—in regard of the fact that the role of the United Nations will increase in the present real situation. Both the Soviet Union and China—at any rate this thought was present in our exchange of views—understand this, and therefore I assume they will act accordingly.

[Unidentified correspondent] From a world viewpoint, in conditions of the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations what influence can this exert on development of the international situation?"

[Gorbachev] I think a positive one, only a positive one.

[THE GUARDIAN correspondent] THE GUARDIAN, London. Have you agreed with China on a schedule for reducing your troops on the border to zero? What is the point of having any troops on either side of the border if relations are normal?"

[Gorbachev] I have the opportunity to reply to your question in a substantive way.

This problem came up in our talks. The Soviet Union came out in favor of a radical alteration in the situation on our borders, as far as demilitarization, the full demilitarization of our borders, is concerned. And in connection with this, we deemed it necessary to impart a businesslike nature to this process and deemed it necessary to create the appropriate working mechanism. I hope that today, when Eduard Amvrosiyevich met with the foreign minister, this problem received further discussion.

[Shevardnadze] We discussed and decided to set up such a mechanism.

[Gorbachev] So, the ministers have already discussed this political aim and have agreed to set up a working mechanism to ensure that this task is placed on practical channels.

[THE GLOBE AND MAIL correspondent] THE GLOBE AND MAIL, Toronto. Are you disappointed that you didn't visit the Forbidden City? What did you do instead?"

[Gorbachev] I should say that first of all there is no forbidden city, and the way things turned out, I had to work. And, of course, when political matters are concerned, one must make sacrifices. That's the most difficult problem on my foreign trips. But, all the same, I think the main purpose of my foreign missions is to tackle political matters.

[GDR Radio correspondent] A question from GDR Radio. Comrade General Secretary, this morning you discussed cooperation between scientists of the USSR and the PRC. Can you picture a flight by a Chinese cosmonaut on the "Mir" station?"

[Gorbachev] Well, you know, we did not discuss this question in a specific sense, but I see no obstacles. If you ask me, I would welcome this. But at the moment, there has been no such question or request.

[CHINA TIMES correspondent] CHINA TIMES, Taiwan. During your meetings with the Chinese leaders, was the reunification question raised? Does the USSR intend to increase its trade with Asian countries? What is your position on trade between the USSR and Taiwan?"

[Gorbachev] You've come up with a lot of questions. We did touch on this topic. The Soviet side reaffirmed our fundamental position. We see Taiwan as an integral part of China. As far as problems of the development of trade with the Asian region are concerned, we are not only in favor of this in principal, but we are already doing a great deal to ensure that positive processes occur in this direction. I must say that recently we have been looking more optimistically at the prospects for trade and economic relations with the Asian countries.

It seems to me that this would not mean any disruption or violation of the economic ties that have developed here. I believe this process will be an organic one, and will be a natural addition. We feel that our goods are needed, and that the goods of these states will not be superfluous to our requirements.

[U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT correspondent] Mr. President, your reply to certain questions does not satisfy me, in particular the question of the situation in China. I'm not asking you to judge the Chinese situation, but 2 million people are demonstrating. What do you

thinks of socialist renewal in the context of these painful events? Don't you think that such events will also take place in the future in the USSR and China?"

[Gorbachev] I shall reply to the second part of the question, since I believe I gave an exhaustive answer to the first part of the question. This does not by any means signify that everyone is satisfied with it. But the second part—about the painfulness of the processes of renewal in the socialist countries—I would reply to that part of your question in the following manner.

First, that is the confirmation of the fact that the processes taking place in the socialist countries are profound. This is not a cosmetic refurbishment. These are changes which profoundly affect all spheres of the life of society in the socialist states. Some people have seen that as a crisis of socialism. But I am convinced that we are present at a serious turning point in the development of world socialism. This process is occurring in all countries with varying intensity, taking into account the specific characteristics of the various states, the different rates of change, and perhaps with changes of different depths. But this is dictated by the specific situation. The direction of these processes is, however, for all that, to uncover the potential that lies in this system on the paths of democratization and glasnost, on the paths of bringing man out as the central character.

But you see, socialism is the system of the working people. Therefore the main character in all these changes is man. And the fact that the economy is turning in the direction of man, and the political process is progressing in the context of the further development of democratization, the inclusion of the actual processes of drafting decisions, of approving decisions—these are highly promising changes and we add that very thorough processes are going ahead in the sphere of spiritual development—in the final count, that is the most important thing, for we most probably come into this world not just to consume, but we consume in order to live, in order to realize the potential of the individual. Therefore, from this point of view, I think that since these are thorough processes, they cannot occur easily or simply. They sometimes acquire a painful nature, but these are processes we need and which, in the end, will bring us out into a new stage of development and will give socialism its second wind.

In any event, we have embarked upon a path of thorough, revolutionary changes, and we shall proceed along this path confidently and firmly. If anyone should think that this path is leading us onto the garbage heap of history, I believe that once again he will be profoundly disappointed.

[DAILY TELEGRAPH correspondent] This is the DAILY TELEGRAPH from London. This is an additional question, if you don't mind. What would be your reaction if such events happened on Red Square or on Karl Marx Square in Moscow? Or do you believe that such events could absolutely never happen? Thank you.

[Gorbachev] Well, I think that we have finally set out on a road of rejecting uniform models and uniform approaches in all of life's events, and it seems to me that this is our great gain. But you would like me now to give advice to the Chinese people as to how they should act in this specific situation. You are again inciting us toward some kind of common model, to some kind of dogmas we must work out and which should be adopted. I think this is fine when people mechanically stamp out articles and manufacture footwear. These stamps work fine there, but when it comes to a political process, I think what is needed is a specific analysis of a situation, also politically responsible and well-weighed appraisals and politically weighed decisions, taking into account this or that instance and context. I think that, in the Soviet Union, too, if problems of this or a similar kind should occur, we would look at them specifically and seek political methods of solving them in order to tackle the problems that had arisen within the framework of the political process on the basis of democracy and glasnost, so as to preserve the main values to which we have sworn allegiance.

[Unidentified correspondent] The newspaper [EL PAIS]. In China economic reform is going ahead first and political reform later. In the Soviet Union this is happening the other way round. After your visit to China, have you come to any kind of conclusions with regard to the rate and order of reforms in the Soviet Union?"

[Gorbachev] I do not think you are right when you state that in the Soviet Union, to begin with, political reform is going ahead and then economic reform later. If one is to be precise from a chronological point of view—and I probably know a bit about that—then the first thing we had to become engaged in in our country was, for all that, economic issues. Moreover, to begin with we decided to approach them, taking into account the urgent problems that had accumulated. But once we started to tackle the urgent, pressing problems, we saw that the roots of these problems went much deeper and that we had to get busy on reforms in a thorough manner—and radical reforms of the economy, moreover. And we did set about it.

It is worth recalling the April plenum of our party's Central Committee and the 27th party congress and the June plenum of the Central Committee. These are just details, the most important events that were focused precisely on the problems of radical economic reform. But we saw that economic changes and economic reform would not go ahead successfully, for one cannot carry out a reform successfully if one does not dismantle the administrative command system. And this task cannot be solved without tackling political reform, without involving the people in the process of transformation. But the people can only become involved through the

expansion of democracy, through the democratization of political institutions, public organizations, popular movements and public movements, and making them more dynamic.

Thus, logically we have been progressing to the present day. Yes, naturally, in implementing the political reform the political processes go ahead more quickly. But I would not say that there is no lagging behind here either. If one is to talk about that, then our weaknesses and our losses and difficulties emerge and we are more aware of them when we lag behind in our realization and interpretation of the processes occurring and our understanding of what is new, and in finding the right solutions on the way to restructuring.

[Unidentified correspondent] A question about Japan. Is the USSR prepared to give up one or two of the Kuril Islands in order to sign a peace treaty with Japan?

[Gorbachev] A dialogue with the Japanese side is going on. We have created a Soviet-Japanese mechanism that is engaged in problems connected with a peace treaty. This mechanism is in operation and interesting ideas on this matter are coming out. I think that at the end of the day we shall see an improvement and invigoration of Soviet-Japanese relations.

[THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER correspondent] Mr. General Secretary, THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER. This summit meeting is truly an historic event, but it is taking place against a backdrop of historic demonstrations. Do you think these demonstrations in any way diminish the significance of the meeting, or have they influenced your plans? Do you intend to carry out your full schedule in Shanghai tomorrow? Thank you.

[Gorbachev] Throughout my stay in China, and during all my meetings, conversations, and contacts—both with political leaders and with representatives of the state of workers, and young people—I have not heard anyone express himself negatively about the meeting or its significance for Sino-Soviet relations or for the destinies of the world. I think we have full consensus between the Soviet and Chinese peoples. The schedule will be implemented, in the context of the actual situation.

[NOVOSTI correspondent] The NOVOSTI press agency, Mikhail Sergeyevich. China—like the Soviet Union—is a nuclear power. Were questions of nuclear disarmament, and the possibility that at some stage China would join this process examined at the talks?

[Gorbachev] This problem was discussed within the framework of a long conversation with Comrade Deng Xiaoping, and here we have a single approach—that nuclear disarmament and continuation of the Soviet-U.S. talks concerning a 50-percent reduction in nuclear potential are desirable so that the disarmament process becomes properly invigorated. And in this sense our positions coincided. As far as specific aspects and all the details are concerned, these questions were not discussed.

[Czechoslovak Radio correspondent] A question from Czechoslovak Radio. Comrade Gorbachev, the whole world has waited 30 years for a visit by a Soviet leader to China. What sort of period, in your opinion, should elapse before the next meeting?

[Gorbachev] Whatever it is, I am convinced that it should be a shorter one! [chuckles] That is the first thing. At this time, when Soviet-Chinese relations have become normalized—this includes all aspects of these relations—a dialogue will become active, and the Chinese leadership agreed with us on this, in all areas. But this also means that summit meetings will be held whenever necessary—by all means, under normal conditions.

[THE SUNDAY TIMES correspondent] London, THE SUNDAY TIMES. You are now in your fifth year as leader of the USSR. Looking back, what would you do differently? What mistakes have you made, and what is the biggest problem facing you at the moment?

[Gorbachev] I shall give many answers when we shall have to give answers—back at home. I will, however, try to give you an answer, albeit a brief one. One thing I am sure of is that we are on the right road. And that is not just my conviction. I think I can now say that that belief was displayed at the latest elections. By and large, after all, it was a popular referendum on restructuring—the policy of restructuring. And if one bears in mind that these elections took place in a complicated situation, from the viewpoint of the country's internal development, [incomplete sentence as heard] What do I mean? Reform concerns all levels of society, all structures in society. It impinges on the life interests, the vital interests of all levels. If to that one adds the imbalance of the market, the food problem, the unresolved state of the housing problem, too, of course, and many other questions, then I must say that the elections have given us a realistic cross-section, nevertheless, of the moods in society, and that has enabled us to draw the main conclusion—about what our people's attitude toward restructuring is. The people link their destiny and (?that of) the country, the family, and the labor collective with restructuring. But they want that restructuring to proceed more efficiently, to produce more results, and to improve people's lives. It seems to me that we must agree with the opinion of our people, which was expressed during the elections. We must continue the restructuring, but we must do our job better.

[JINGJI RIBAO correspondent] Correspondent from the PRC economic newspaper. Esteemed Comrade Chairman, please tell us to what extent the process of

democratization applies to the economy?" Second, to what extent does glasnost affect the highest echelon of leaders? And, third, how effectively are laws drawn up and applied in the USSR?"

[Gorbachev] As for your first question, I would put it this way: restructuring will not proceed without democratization of the economic sphere. Through financial autonomy, economic self-reliance, and self-management we want to make the labor collective the principal character in the economic sphere, too.

And in this connection we are changing our approaches to planning, to managing the economy.

The most important direction here is decentralization. I think that for the process of democratization to embrace the economic sphere on the basis of common opinion, and first and foremost the view of the union republics, we have correctly set out along the path of introducing republican financial autonomy, regional financial autonomy. If we add to that the fact that our collectives are receiving wide, democratic rights in solving cadre questions...[Gorbachev changes thought] And we consider that to be a very important element, although it is the subject of discussion—should one or should one not elect leaders? I think that if we, by means of financial autonomy and expanding the rights of the collective, nevertheless place on them the main responsibility, and eventually strive to ensure that every collective should receive in the end and live according to the way it does its job, then the collective must be given the opportunity to solve democratically the question of who should head the collective under these conditions. That is the first question, the first part of the question.

The second, what was it about? [indistinct] prompt on the background] Yes, hmm, yes, yes. As far as glasnost is concerned, we believe that under conditions of a single-party system, in order to take into account, to reveal, take into account, harmonize the diverse interests, we need democracy and glasnost like the air we breathe, as a constantly active factor, and as a means of revealing and finding the right solutions. And we have set foot firmly on that path to the limits of democracy and glasnost.

We speak of the fact that there are boundaries in this respect, which is dictated by our interests within the framework of the struggle for socialism, for revealing the potential of socialism, and for ensuring that everything that is happening in society serves man, ennobles man, and raises his role. Everything that is directed toward this should be welcomed, and to that which is contrary to our choice and inflicts damage on us, we say no. Here we shall insist on our own way. In other words, just as the possibilities of the socialist social system are boundless, so too are the possibilities of democracy and glasnost boundless under the conditions of this system. But glasnost and democracy always go together with responsibility, political culture, and discipline.

Finally, there is the question of laws. We have firmly embarked on the path of developing a socialist state based on law. All political and economic institutions, every individual, and every collective must act within the law and on the basis of the law. For this purpose we must conduct a great amount of activity and work creating norms, and let me tell you confidentially that many proposals have already been prepared for the future people's deputies, for them collectively to set about discussing the prepared proposals and to draw up new laws that are dictated by the tasks of restructuring and the development of a law-based socialist state.

[Correspondent] Correspondent of China's Science and Technology Magazine: To what extent do the processes of democratization and glasnost impinge on the mass media? The second part of my question concerns publications and the general censorship of the press.

[Gorbachev] Well, I think that if one is speaking forthrightly, the process of democratization and glasnost in our country has proceeded with a reinterpretation of the role of the mass information media in society. They are the most powerful instruments for glasnost and democracy. We highly appreciate the contribution of the mass information media to these processes—the processes of restructuring. We value very much both the openness and the criticism of our press, but we value, too, the responsibility that in general characterizes the utterances and work of our press, although one does not get by in this respect without surprises and without sensations.

But I think that the press, too—first, it is under the control of the people and a law concerning the press will be passed in our country; this will be one of the first laws to be discussed in the work of the new bodies of supreme power—that our press, too, is acquiring a higher standard and is growing in competence. It is also a living organism that has its own achievements, but there are also unhealthy phenomena. All of this is normal; if like politicians and economic workers, cultural representatives, and so on they, too, alongside the general achievements and the progress in all these directions, the problems, too, have their own problems.

[IZVESTIYA correspondent] Soviet press. Mikhail Sergeyevich, IZVESTIYA. Let me go back to China. I guess that already before your visit here you had at your disposal extensive information about this country. After the talks that have been held, the many meetings you have had, including with ordinary people—however surprising this is, given the shortage of time—has anything changed in your conception? What turned out to be new for you, perhaps unexpected?

[Gorbachev] I think your question is dictated by the fact that your meeting with China has also to some degree led you to other conceptions. I will say that I feel this, too. I have been very much touched by these meetings, and it seems to me that I have a better conception now of present-day China and of its plans for the future. But the

greatest thing that was joyous for me was those traditions of Soviet-Chinese friendship that have been preserved, which have put down roots not only in the older generations of Chinese people, belonging to the part of Chinese society which belongs to the older generations, but also among youth. This is, if you will, for me simply a great, joyous discovery. I want to thank you for the work over these last days. I think there will still be time for the delegations and for all of you to reflect a little on what has happened over these last days here in Beijing. I assure you, friends, that this deserves to be reflected upon, for it is an event that requires, perhaps, some distance and calm consideration. Till we meet again. [applause]

[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 17 May carries a similar item on the Gorbachev press conference which adds: "Comrades Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Maslyukov, Chazov, Shakhnazarov, and Tretyakova took part in the press conference."]

Shanghai Visit Previewed

PM180113 89 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Special correspondents V. Kobysh, Yu. Savenkov report from Beijing: "Days Four"]

[Text] The mass demonstrations held in Beijing (according to XINHUA, on Wednesday) more than a million people took to the streets of the city in support of the 3,000 students on hunger strike in Tiananmen Square; virtually paralyzed traffic in the city center. Because of this the Chinese authorities decided to move the location of the news conference, which it was planned to hold on the National People's Congress building, to the state residence of Diaoyutai. As a result of this, through no fault of our own, we misinformed readers about the program for M.S. Gorbachev's stay in Beijing for yesterday afternoon.

We will not recount M.S. Gorbachev's news conference in detail. Soviet television viewers saw a reportage on it transmitted direct by television. [A detailed account of the news conference will be published in the next issue of IZVESTIYA.—Editor]. We will only note those aspects that seemed to us to make a particular impression on those present.

Let us begin by saying that the Soviet leader thanked Chinese and foreign journalists for coming to this important meeting, which marks a new stage in Soviet-Chinese relations.

Everyone was interested to hear M.S. Gorbachev say that this new situation is not directed against the interests of third countries and that what has happened does not mean that the USSR or the PRC will have to review their relations with anyone else. There was a weighty ring to Mikhail Sergeyevich's statement that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will stimulate the creation of a climate of mutual understanding and peaceful cooperation in the world, that neither the USSR nor the PRC lays claim to hegemonism, and that both countries advocate peace and development.

Interest was aroused by the Soviet leader's mention of the sides' accord on stepping up and widening the most diverse forms of Soviet-Chinese trade and economic ties, with priorities in the spheres of power industry, metallurgy, transportation, and consumer goods production.

Of course, a whole series of questions touched on the accord on CPSU-CPC interparty cooperation and their exchange of experience in the sphere of the theory and practice of socialism, among other things.

We cannot, of course, omit to print M.S. Gorbachev's answer to a question from IZVESTIYA's correspondents, which concluded the news conference. We reproduce, in brief, the question and answer.

IZVESTIYA: After the talks and numerous meetings held, including those with ordinary inhabitants of Beijing, have you discovered anything that was new to you, and perhaps even surprising?

M.S. Gorbachev: I am enriched by the meetings, and the most gratifying thing for me is the traditions of friendship, which are firmly rooted not only in the older generation, but among young people, too. That came as a revelation to me. I need to think about it calmly, at a distance....

Much else of importance was said by the Soviet leader during this news conference. We wish to note in conclusion that we have learned that not only in China, but also in many other countries it prompted a profound response, and is being commented on widely by the mass media here and abroad.

On Thursday morning M.S. Gorbachev flew to Shanghai. This city, the biggest in China (the population is more than 12 million!), grew up on the site of a fishing settlement only 700 years ago (for the ancient civilization of China, where 3,000-year-old Beijing is not the oldest city, 700 years is but a moment). The geographical location is favorable (the great Yangtze River dissects the whole of China from west to east, and links Shanghai to the inner regions of the country, while the convenient sea port connects it with nearly every country of the world).

Shanghai is China's biggest industrial and commercial center, and one-third of the country's port freight is handled here. It is destined, as one of China's coastal cities, to have an advantage as regards economic cooperation with the outside world.

This city has always played a special role in China. The "Made in Shanghai" brand carries prestige all over the country. It is here that the boldest experiments are in progress in boosting market and enterprise activity, in

scientific research and on economic ties with foreign countries. But it is also here, so the experts say, that the growing problems—demographic, transportation, energy, ecological—are most acutely felt.

The city abounds in revolutionary traditions. It was here, in 1921, that the first CPC congress was held. People of the older generation remember what enthusiasm the news of the Shanghai proletariat's revolutionary deeds aroused among Soviet people.

Now Shanghai has established friendly ties with 18 cities in the world. One sister city is Leningrad. There are growing ties between the two cities (trade, cultural, sports). There are Russian lessons on Shanghai radio and television. A department store on the busiest street, Nanjin, has linked up with a department store on Leningrad. They will be exchanging goods. And they are not the only partners. A local house-building company is willing to take on contract work in Leningrad. But it will face competition. Other firms, not only in Shanghai, are willing to take on the contract as well. The winner will sign an agreement to carry out construction in the social and consumer sphere in Leningrad. Who knows, perhaps examples of Shanghai cuisine will soon be appearing in Leningrad, and Leningrad chefs will be acquainting the people of Shanghai with Russian cuisine. This is the idea. Another thing: Soviet ships have been refitted in Shanghai docks for some years now.

What do the people in Shanghai think about the upcoming meeting with M.S. Gorbachev? I talked with some of them on the eve of the visit.

Lou Zhenyuan, deputy mayor of Shanghai: "I am sure that good relations will be established between our countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The summit meeting will stimulate comprehensive links between us. During the years of the split we have grown unaccustomed to one another, and now we are getting used to one another again, as if we were meeting for the first time. The summit meeting will help accelerate this process."

Wu Guozhi, director of the ship repair plant: "We are looking for new ways of building socialism. At the moment there are no answers to many of the questions, so we are looking. Now the architects of the Soviet restructuring and the Chinese reforms are meeting. And that is excellent. We very much need to exchange experience."

Zhang Anyou, vice president of the Shanghai Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries: "We have much unexplored potential. Why, for example, are there no Soviet investments in any of the 300 Shanghai enterprises that use foreign capital?" Clearly, we must intensify ties in all spheres, including links between sister cities. The historic summit, naturally, will help us expand ties and make better use of the enormous potential of the PRC and USSR for our peoples' benefit."

On M.S. Gorbachev's arrival in Shanghai he had a conversation at the "Xinqiao" residence with Jiang Zemin, first secretary of the Shanghai City Party Committee and member of the PCP Central Committee Politburo.

M.S. Gorbachev's Shanghai program is extremely busy. More about this tomorrow.

Leaves Beijing for Shanghai

LD1805013789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0317 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Beijing, 18 May (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who is on China on an official visit, left Beijing today bound for Shanghai.

The seeing-off ceremony took place at the "Diaoyutai" residence. Mikhail Gorbachev and Raisa Gorbacheva said goodbye to PRC President Yang Shangkun.

Soviet officials accompanying him on the trip left together with Mikhail Gorbachev for Shanghai.

Arrives in Shanghai

LD1805112189 Moscow TASS in English 1154 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Shanghai May 18 TASS—By TASS special correspondents:

Visiting Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev today arrived in China's largest industrial centre, Shanghai.

On behalf of the workers of the city, the Soviet leader, his wife and members of the Soviet delegation were warmly welcomed at the airport by Jiang Zemin, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and secretary of the Shanghai City Party Committee, Zhu Rongji, mayor of Shanghai, Wu Xueqian, member of the Political Bureau and deputy prime minister, and Qian Qichen, minister of foreign affairs. Mikhail Gorbachev was welcomed by children, who chanted: "Welcome to Shanghai."

On the way to the Xijiao residence tens of thousands of Shanghai residents lined up the streets of the 12-million city greeting the motorcade with smiles and exclamations.

A brief talk was held with Jiang Zemin at the Xijiao residence and mutual satisfaction was expressed over the full normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations. Mikhail Gorbachev, Raisa Gorbachev and the accompanying officials took part in the talk.

Shanghai Mayor Zhu Rongji gave a luncheon for the Soviet leader. Zhu Rongji and Mikhail Gorbachev made speeches.

There a brief sight-seeing tour of the city was made with the first stop at the monument to the great Russian poet Aleksandr Pushkin.

The monument had a checkered fate. Built in 1937 on donations from the residents of Shanghai and its Russian community, the monument was destroyed by the Japanese in the years of the National Liberation War against Japanese militarists. In 1947 it was restored as tribute to the poet's great homeland. But in the years of the cultural revolution the monument was destroyed once more. Recently the bronze bust of the poet was put back on its place at the request of the citizens as a symbol of traditional spiritual links between our two peoples.

Construction of a new area of technical and economic development, Minhang, a city of electrical engineering industry, recently started in the Minhang satellite city and its suburb Hongjiao 30 km to the south west of Shanghai. It has more than 30 enterprises. The Soviet guests today visited the plant to produce modern lifts and escalators, which is the country's first joint enterprise of the electrical engineering industry. During the visit to the plant Mikhail Gorbachev spoke to workers and engineers.

Gives Speech at Shanghai Luncheon

LD1805111189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 18 May 89

[Speech by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at luncheon in Shanghai on 18 May—from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Jiang Zemin,
Esteemed Comrade Wu Xueqian,
Esteemed Comrade Zhu Rongji,
Esteemed comrades and friends!

On behalf of all my comrades accompanying me on this important visit to China, I would like to express sincere satisfaction with having the opportunity to visit Shanghai, a major town of the PRC which is well-known outside its boundaries and holds a prominent place among the world's leading industrial and cultural centers. We looked forward to visiting Shanghai with great interest, for we know about it not just from geographic reference books. Many pages of the rich revolutionary past of Chinese working people, the first class struggles of the Chinese proletariat, and the origins of the CPC are linked with Shanghai. Thank you, friends, for the reception you have accorded us, the open and amicable atmosphere of meetings and conversations. We regard all this as a manifestation of the feelings of traditional friendship and profound respect that have existed from time immemorial between the peoples of our two states. Stability and good neighborly relations between our countries meet not only the aspirations and hopes of our two great peoples, but also the interests of strengthening security in Asia and improving the entire world situation. Therefore, we can say that what occurred during the last few days, during the Soviet delegation's visit to China, is a watershed event that will have great and positive consequences not only for our two countries and two peoples, but also for the world.

Esteemed comrades, adopting 4 years ago the course of restructuring of all aspects of Soviet life, of renewing socialism, we subjected to reappraisal much of what had before seemed absolutely inviolable truth, once and for all. Now practical matters are coming to the fore. The policy of restructuring is being tested by deeds.

During our short stay in China we have been able to see for ourselves what profound changes have taken place in the 40 years the PRC has existed. I would like to wish the Chinese people fresh achievements on the path of reforms and toward enhancing its well-being. Our two countries have things to share, things to show one another, and we hope that now our ties and our relations will gain fresh dynamism. We are in favor of these ties expanding and deepening, both through interparty relations, contacts at the state level, and through ties between scientists and cultural figures. But we would particularly welcome it if these ties also include towns, enterprises and labor collectives, and families. A good example is provided by Shanghai and Leningrad; we would like this to be a good example for many towns, both Soviet and Chinese.

In the past few days we have been convinced that the feelings of friendship, of Soviet-Sino friendship and Sino-Soviet friendship, have been preserved not only among the broad strata of the older generations of the Chinese people. We have been very gratified at the fact that China's young people have also responded warmly to the resumption, the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China. We hope that ties will expand between youth organizations, between young men and women of the Soviet Union and China, and that they will confidently carry on the baton of friendship of the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

To the prosperity of the residents of Shanghai! To firm friendship, neighborliness, and cooperation between the Soviet and Chinese peoples! [applause]

Ends PRC Visit, Departs for Home

LD1805102589 Moscow TASS in English 1019 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Shanghai May 18 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev flew home today after concluding an official visit to the People's Republic of China.

His visit marked a complete normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations and restoration of interparty links between the Communist parties of the two countries.

Shevardnadze, PRC Counterpart Qian Qichen Meet

PM1805104089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 May 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Ministers' Meeting"]

[Text] Beijing May 17—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today conferred with his Chinese counterpart Qian Qichen within the framework of the Soviet-Chinese top-level talks.

To further the ideas aired during the meeting of the Soviet and Chinese leaders, the ministers held a detailed exchange of views on several issues of Soviet-Chinese relations and the international situation. They examined progress at the talks on border settlement. The sides noted headway that has already been made and agreed to continue the talks between the governmental delegations.

The ministers clarified some points related to the accord to form a negotiating mechanism to elaborate practical measures for a gradual, balanced and mutual reduction in the armed forces and armaments in areas adjacent to the border of the USSR and the People's Republic of China.

Shevardnadze informed Qian Qichen about Soviet-U.S. relations in the light of the recent visit of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to Moscow, and about how the discussion with the American side on questions of disarmament, regional problems, and bilateral, transnational and humanitarian issues was proceeding.

The understanding on resuming Soviet-U.S. talks on strategic nuclear armaments in Geneva was, in particular, an important result of contacts with James Baker.

Shevardnadze and Qian Qichen discussed several pressing issues pertaining to the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. They noted the importance of intensifying the search for political solutions to conflict situations in the region. From this point of view the ministers paid particular attention to the Afghan issue, progress in a Cambodian settlement, and the situation on the Korean peninsula.

The Soviet and Chinese Foreign Ministers agreed to meet next autumn during the 44th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Maslyukov, PRC's Tian Jiyun Discuss Trade

PM1805102589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 May 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Questions of Cooperation Discussed"]

[Text] Beijing, 17 May—A meeting took place today between Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Soviet section of the Soviet-Chinese Commission on Economic, Trade, Scientific, Technical Cooperation, and Tian Jiyun, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo, deputy premier of the PRC State Council, and chairman of the Chinese section of the commission.

The sides exchanged opinions on questions of the further development and deepening of trade, economic, scientific, and technical ties in light of the accords reached during M.S. Gorbachev's meetings with PRC leaders. The priority areas and spheres concentrated as a result are power engineering, transport (including aircraft construction), ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, consumer goods production, medicine and public health, and labor services.

An accord was reached on improving the working mechanism of bilateral cooperation and the procedure for the preparation of agreed specific proposals on the aforementioned questions by the corresponding ministries and departments in both countries. The sides pointed out with satisfaction the considerable increase in border trade between the countries and advocated further developing this and making it more organized.

During the conversation it was deemed necessary to exchange of experience in the sphere of economic reforms. These questions will be examined at the upcoming fourth session of the Soviet-Chinese Commission on Economic, Trade, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation. There are plans to discuss a long-term program for USSR-PRC economic and scientific and technical cooperation at this session. The commission session will be held in Moscow in late July. The interlocutors noted the importance of broadening and deepening scientific and technical cooperation. The "PRC Science and Technology Days in the USSR," which will be held in mid-July, are to play a great role here.

Raisa Gorbacheva Meets Beijing Citizens

LD1705172489 Moscow TASS in English 1647 GMT
17 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 17 TASS—Raisa Gorbachev, the wife of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, went on a sightseeing tour of Beijing today during which she had meetings with Beijing residents.

In her conversations with the Chinese public, marked by hospitality, Raisa Gorbachev welcomed the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations which opens wide opportunities for the peoples of the two countries to broaden their contacts.

The Soviet Leader's wife visited the Beijing library which has more than 10 million books published in China and abroad, and made an entry in the visitors' book.

"The visit to the Beijing Library," she wrote, "gave us an opportunity to get acquainted with the invaluable spiritual heritage of the people of China, one of the world's ancient and greatest civilizations."

Raisa Gorbachev also visited the house-museum of outstanding Chinese painter and graphic artist Xu Beihong whose painting method combines centuries-old Chinese traditions and the European realistic school. Xu Beihong was the first Chinese painter to be exhibited in the Soviet Union in the 1930s.

Mrs Gorbachev saw a 15th-century temple in the Tiantan Park and visited the Beijing Factory of Applied and Decorative Art.

World Reaction to Gorbachev China Visit Noted

OW1705162789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1035 GMT 17 May 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Igor Kudrin]

[Text] Hello, Comrades. The visit of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev remains the main news these days. Numerous observers see a tremendous international significance in the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting and the development of the principles of a political dialogue between the two great powers. The Soviet Union and China, while implementing the policy of renewal, are now directly dealing with the normalization of comprehensive relations between them.

The Western press, of course, is not without speculative commentaries. Relations are normalizing, but a distance remains, some articles write. Another writes that China is, nevertheless, more afraid of the Soviet Union than of the United States—this is an invention. Still others try to guess who needs normalization more: the Soviet Union or China.

Still, the majority of politicians, public figures, and analysts are unanimous in the opinion that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit signifies a historical beginning of a new phase in the development of Soviet-Chinese relations, and represents an important step in the cause of strengthening confidence, peace, and security on the Asian continent and the whole world.

PRC Intelligentsia View Gorbachev 17 May Speech

PM1705154989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 May 89 First Edition pp 4-5

[Dispatch by special correspondent V. Ovchinnikov: "Paving the Road into the Future"]

[Text] Beijing, 17 May—It is said that the Great Wall of China is the only man-made edifice which can be seen from the Moon. Since remote antiquity it has been known as one of the wonders of the world. Historical annals attest that some sections of the over-6,700-km-long stone wall, intended to defend China against the onslaughts of nomadic tribes, began to be erected back in the 4th century BC long before the country's unifier, Qin Emperor Shi Huang, connected the entire wall.

The wall, the height of four men, is so massive that a cavalry column five riders wide can travel along the top. The imposing installation was restored and added to in later times, and it has been preserved in this form to this day.

People have long grown accustomed to identifying the great wall with the isolation and immobility of the Middle Kingdom. But the past decade has definitively destroyed this stereotype of the past and shown the world the model of a China whose key features have become dynamism and openness. The third day of M.S. Gorbachev's stay in Beijing, as it were, illustrated this idea, combining the past and the present, a visit to the Great Wall of China, a tour of the imperial palaces of the Forbidden City, and a meeting with representatives of the Chinese public—the people who have embarked on the modernization of an enormous country with a grave legacy of many centuries of isolation and semifeudal backwardness, and on the in-depth transformation of its social mechanism.

Those taking part in the meeting were mostly representatives of the scientific intelligentsia. I talked with some of them in the auditorium immediately after the Soviet leader's speech.

"My first impression of the speech we have just heard is that there are incomparably more points of coincidence than there are differences in our stances and approaches," says He Luoqiheng, scientific secretary of the Chinese association for assisting international understanding. "That applies to the political bases on which we intend to develop interstate relations, to the principles of interparty ties, and to the aims and avenues of cooperation in various fields. We are also unanimous in believing that we must treat with understanding differences in each other's policies and methods of operation, and not make them a stumbling block to cooperation.

"Although the conditions under which our countries are implementing reforms are not the same, we can learn from each other with benefit, creatively interpreting the best in world socialist practice and at the same time avoiding a repetition of other people's mistakes. Indeed, the very role of the party in the process of the renewal of socialism is also a theme for a useful exchange of opinions. President Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union and China are now, as it were, discovering and getting to know each other anew. He assessed highly the role of contacts between people. For our association, whose aim is to promote international mutual understanding, these are very important guidelines."

"The sections of today's speech devoted to Soviet restructuring seemed particularly valuable from the viewpoint of my own professional interests," said Niu Tiehang, chief of the State Committee for Economic Reform international studies department. "Just as there should not be a single model of socialism, so there cannot be a single model for its improvement or a universal model for reforms. In the old days people used to say that there are many paths to the summit of a mountain. But diversity in the ways and means of restructuring the economy does not rule out the exchange of experience, but on the contrary makes it even more necessary. We have no need to copy each other but it is useful to analyze and consider the experience of successes and failures. The theoretical generalization of the problems put forward by restructuring is also necessary. And that puts on the agenda the question of cooperation between our countries' scientists."

"In his speech Gorbachev analyzed the problems of the Asian and Pacific region from the positions of the new political thinking," says Comrade Tao Bingqiu, chief of the international studies institute Asian and Pacific department. "The Soviet guest convincingly showed that there is a real possibility and need to find a common denominator for the diverse interests and positions existing in the Asian and Pacific region. The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations opens up scope for cooperation not only on a bilateral basis but also with other states of the region. According to Comrade Deng Xiaoping, the Soviet leader's Vladivostok speech served as the impetus to a countermovement which was completed yesterday by the handshake between the two leaders. Today Gorbachev said that we must lend impetus to the general Asian process. His Beijing speech may play precisely that role. It prompts us to serious thought."

"It is a very good thing that, in addition to meetings with Chinese leaders, Gorbachev has been able to address the public, to set forth in detail his views on problems like Sino-Soviet relations, restructuring in the USSR, the situation in the Asian and Pacific region and the world as a whole," your PRAVDA correspondent was told by Wang Chunze, member of the board of the Chinese people's society of international relations. Indeed, thanks to television, the Soviet Union now has the opportunity to communicate with what is probably the largest audience in the world. He is being seen and listened to by all China. The rapid spread of television in our country increases the public response to such speeches a million times over."

"As someone who headed the XINHUA branch in Moscow for 10 years," my interlocutor continued, "I now often deliver lectures on the USSR in various Chinese cities. And I can sense that the Chinese are impressed by the Soviet leader's boldness and vigor and his closeness to the people. They see in him the initiator of the policy of glasnost. The words Gorbachev uttered today about how the economic reform will not work unless it is backed up by the radical transformation of the political system have a very topical ring for us. We know well from China's experience that people's hopes and expectations frequently outstrip the pace of reforms. But, as our Soviet guest said today, the processes in society, as in nature, have their own natural durations. And attempts to urge history onto a gallop cost us dear, as we Chinese are reminded by the years of the 'great leap forward,'" Wang Chunze said in conclusion.

A breakthrough to the pinnacles of progress or the death of civilization. Mentioning this dilemma at the end of his speech, the Soviet leader, my Chinese interlocutors note, expressed the hope of Beijing today that our countries will cooperate actively in the struggle for the future of mankind and will make a worthy contribution to it.

The third day of the visit was the day of three public speeches by M.S. Gorbachev. Because, apart from the meeting with representatives of the public, there was his news conference and his speech on Chinese television today.

Zhao Ziyang Sends Message to Striking Students

OW1805074089 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] According to a XINHUA report, Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, wrote a letter to the college students currently staging a hunger strike on Beijing's Tiananmen Square.

The letter reiterates that, after the students return to their campuses, the authorities will be ready to continue dialogues with them. The letter says that the leaders will continue to consider the views raised by the students and will formulate specific measures to promote democracy and law, oppose corruption, and expand openness.

The secretary general of the CPC Central Committee calls on the students to take the interests of the whole country into account and safeguard stability and unity. He also hopes the students exercise calm, restraint, restraint, and orderliness.

Beijing Leaders 'Have Practically Lost Control'

LD1805075089 Moscow TASS in English 0630 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 18 TASS—Columns on foot and bicycles, buses, trucks and cars bedecked with slogans, streamers and flags supporting the students, who continue the hunger strike in downtown Beijing, and demanding an immediate dialogue between the leadership of the Communist Party of China and government with students and the resignation of several leaders have been moving early today from various regions of the Chinese capital to Tiananmen Square. Workers of major enterprises in Beijing and government employees joined the students' demonstrations. Traffic on the city's main

streets is paralyzed. Police do not take any measures to restore order in the streets and the authorities have practically lost control over the situation.

Numerous ambulances work round-the-clock bringing fainting protesters to hospitals. By yesterday's evening, their number was estimated to exceed one thousand. The movement of columns and ambulance vehicles in central Beijing is regulated by students.

Out of all central newspapers only RENMIN RIBAO, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, was delivered to subscribers. It focuses mainly on the student protest. The newspaper reports on its front page that Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Prime Minister Li Peng and members of the permanent committee of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party Qiao Shi and Hu Qili visited hunger strikers in hospitals at 5 a.m. today. Television broadcast the hospital visit showing top senior officials talking to students and shaking their hands.

RENMIN RIBAO, the XINHUA News Agency and television reported that student demonstrations in support of the hunger strikers in Beijing took place in 26 major cities of the country, including Shanghai, Guangzhou, Tianjin, Nanjing, Hefei, Wuhan, Jinggan, Changsha, Lanzhou, Kunming, Changchun, Taiyuan and Harbin.

Representatives of various democratic parties appealed to the leaders of the Communist Party and government to start dialogue with the students as soon as possible. A similar request was made by rectors of four largest educational establishments in the capital.

'Disorder' Affects Gorbachev Itinerary

PM1705112989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 89 p 1

[Correspondent A. Plekhovskiy report: "On Tiananmen Square"]

[Text] On a street in Beijing I asked passersby this question: What do they expect to come out of the Soviet-Chinese summit? A newspaper vendor said: "We need to live in peace. That is the main thing." A pensioner said: "I think the time has now come for the intelligent people in our countries to give proper thought to how to develop socialism further."

For the leaders of our countries to meet it needed wisdom and political realism from both the USSR and China. Deng Xiaoping said in conversation with M.S. Gorbachev that 3 years ago he had conveyed to him a message on the intention to hold a meeting. That decision came about after M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok.

In the logic of state thinking, the vital interests of the people and the interests of man are the starting point. For 10 years China has been following the course of reforms and building its own model of socialism.

Having entered its second decade, the Chinese reform has run into a period of difficulties. They are growing pains. The economy has "overheated" at a rapid rate—GNP has doubled in 10 years. The phenomenon of market chaos, the inordinate growth of investments, and the excess of demand over supply have unleashed an inflationary spiral.

"They told us: Go and get rich. But who got rich during the 10 years of reform? The workers, the peasants, the intelligentsia? No. It was the bureaucrats and the speculators!" said a hoarse-voiced youngster in the middle of the large crowd on Tiananmen Square. The hunger strike by almost 3,000 students from various higher education establishments in the capital is into its 4th day here. Around 100 students have already been hospitalized.

Beijing is in ferment. Higher education teachers, representatives of the intelligentsia, and inhabitants of the city came to the square yesterday. Convoys of cyclists carrying placards and red flags rode through the streets. Because of the disorder, the laying of flowers at the monument to the heroes on Tiananmen Square was omitted from M.S. Gorbachev's itinerary.

Gorbachev Gives 'Impetus' to USSR-PRC Trade

LD1805082889 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—BY TASS Correspondent Vladimir Kumachev

Preparations are about to be completed in the USSR to create an association for business cooperation with China. The association will bring together scores of Soviet enterprises, research institutes, agricultural organizations and cooperatives wishing to establish durable relations with Chinese partners. This information was supplied by the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry (USSR CCI).

This reflects a growing interest on the part of the Soviet business community in developing trade and economic relations with Chinese enterprises and organizations. The greatest activity is displayed by regional USSR CCI affiliates in the Far East, the CCI's of the Kazakh and other union republics engaged in cross-border trade with China.

Soviet Central Asian republics wish to develop cooperation with China, above all in such fields as light and local industries, land betterment, water economy, geology, and trade between commercial enterprises. And for regions in Siberia and Soviet Far East these are ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, textiles and sewing industry, agriculture, civil and industrial construction.

One major area of USSR CCI's cooperation with Chinese organizations is organizing national exhibitions. Scheduled for 1990 in Beijing is a Soviet trade and industrial exhibition and a trade and economic exhibition of China is to be held in Leningrad.

A fresh impetus to the development of business relations between Soviet and Chinese organizations will be imparted by the visit to China of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. During his meetings and conversations with Chinese leaders they pointed out the feasibility of broadening bilateral cooperation in economic, scientific and technical fields and stressed the desirability of placing it on a long-term basis and applying new forms of cooperation.

Soviet Banker Views Financial Contacts With PRC

LD1805081489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1142 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 17 May (TASS)—The first contacts with the "People's Bank of China," "The Bank of China," and other PRC credit and finance institutions were established by the International Investment Bank (IIB), whose members are Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Cuba, and Vietnam. Albert Belichenko, chairman of the IIB board, and the delegation of this credit and finance organization participated in the 22d annual session of the council of controllers of the "Asian Development Bank," which took place in China, they told a TASS correspondent.

The talks showed the interest of the Chinese side in developing banking contacts with the CEMA member countries. Al ready was, in particular, the development of deposit operations between the IIB and the Chinese banks and the possibility of grant credits to joint enterprises, where the partners are the representatives of the PRC and the CEMA countries.

The representatives of the PRC banking community noted in particular in the discussions with the Soviet IIB representatives that Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to China will help improve Sino-Soviet relations.

As is known, Albert Belichenko stressed, the IIB provides credit both from its own funds and from loan capital, the proportion of which in its resources reaches 75 percent. It issues medium- and long-term (up to 15 years) investment credit, primarily for the building, reconstruction, and expansion of enterprises that are of mutual interest to the development of the economies of all or some of its members. Favorable prospects for cooperation between the IIB and Chinese banks are therefore opening up, especially in the fuel, power, machine-building, and metallurgical industries. How they are realized will be shown by talks with representatives of PRC banking circles, which are scheduled for June-July in Moscow.

Albert Belichenko said, in conclusion, that the IIB has already been operating viably for nearly 2 decades, and the experience accumulated can, and must, be used for the successful development of its further activities, aimed at the credit funding of capital investment.

Northeast Asia

Japan Welcomes Soviet Peace Proposal

LD1705222589 Moscow TASS in English 1921 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Tokyo May 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Kuchin:

Japan welcomed on Wednesday the new Soviet peace initiatives tabled by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech in Beijing. The initiatives aim at reducing the military confrontation and furthering peaceful relations and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region (APR). The specific measures to reduce Soviet troops and arms in the Far East, announced by the general secretary of the CPSU CC [Central Committee], will greatly benefit the cause of detente in the APR, an official spokesman for the Japanese Government said. He also said that Japan welcomed the Soviet desire, expressed by the leader of the USSR, to broaden ties with Japan.

Gorbachev Seeks Various Exchanges With Japan

OW1705065489 Tokyo KYODO in English 0607 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Tokyo, May 17 (KYODO)—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev said Wednesday the Soviet Union wants expanded relations with Japan in various fields, Radio Moscow reported.

The radio, monitored in Tokyo by Radiopress, said Gorbachev made the statement in a speech at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing. He arrived there Monday for a four-day visit to China.

Gorbachev was quoted as saying his country has great respect for Japan and Soviet-Japanese cooperation will bring about "many good things."

Both the Soviet Union and Japan should play important roles in promoting development and peace in Asia, the Soviet leader was quoted as saying.

Commentary on Soviet-Japanese Relations

OW1705034589 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 5 May 89

[Part three of article by station commentator Platonov; parts one and two of Platonov's article are published in the China section of the 15 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 36-38]

[Text] Today we will conclude our discussion on the prospect of peace and development in the Asia-Pacific region and the establishment of closer cooperation between the Soviet Union and other countries in the region. Our station commentator Platonov writes:

Listeners, how are you today? Only through the collective efforts of countries concerned enough to accommodate one another can military tension in the region decrease, and countries have normal relations. There are real reasons to believe that the Soviet Union and China will soon normalize their relations in all respects. We discussed this in our last talk. Today we are going to discuss relations between the Soviet Union and Japan.

The normalization of Soviet-Japanese relations is proceeding with considerable difficulty. We want to point out that even today the two countries have not signed a peace treaty, a treaty that should reflect the results of World War II recognized in other international agreements.

Both the Soviet Union and Japan have stated that they would like to see more progress in the on-going international disarmament talks. However, there is no sign that Japan is willing to support its statements of peace and stability with concrete steps. On the contrary, several years ago Japan declared its commitment to the defense of the sea lane within 1,000 nautical miles from the coast of Japan. In addition, Japan stated that in an emergency situation, it would seal off certain international straits in the region.

What is the prospect of signing a Soviet-Japanese peace treaty? As you know, a Soviet-Japanese task force for the peace treaty has been set up. The Japanese side, however, holds that the most important thing in this treaty is the so-called northern territory issue. In other words, Japan is claiming a series of islands—Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan, and Habomai—south of Kuril Islands now owned by the Soviet Union. The 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty, which was signed by Japan, specifically stipulates that Japan foresake all of its rights to these territories. However, today, it is again bringing up these islands. This issue does not exist in terms of international law. However, it does exist as a political issue. The essence of the new political thinking lies in finding a solution acceptable to both sides. If this issue which affects our bilateral relations cannot be resolved at this time, it should be held for the future. It is more prudent to concentrate our efforts on strengthening the foundation of good-neighborliness, including the expansion of economic cooperation. Let us now listen to the comments on this issue by Ivanov, Soviet deputy minister of foreign economic relations.

Ivanov said [speaking in Russian fading into Mandarin translation]: Regarding the northern territory, if we go on mixing politics with commerce without end, we may not be able to go very far. This situation is an obstacle to Japanese business interests. I see no reason for this issue to continue hampering our economic cooperation.

Okonogi, deputy director of the World Economics Institute, believes that there are external political reasons underlying the negative Japanese attitude toward the development of economic ties with the Soviet Union.

Okonogi said [speaking in Russian fading into Mandarin translation]: The thing is that the United States, after all, is Japan's principal trade partner. The United States is jealous about any improvement in the Soviet-Japanese relations. Everyone of us clearly remembers the notorious Toshiba incident, in which the United States punished Japan. Because Japan's capitalists have grown with the support of the government, they have, by tradition and custom, always followed government orders.

Okonogi also believes that Japan's capitalists dare not take initiatives in this regard, and are awaiting government permission to have closer ties with the Soviet Union.

Plasunov writes: I believe that business interests should come first. In the Eastern Soviet Union, and particularly in the Soviet Far East region, joint ventures may become a vehicle to increased Soviet-Japanese cooperation. Let us listen to Ivanov's comment.

Ivanov said [speaking in Russian fading into Mandarin translation]: The Soviet Union has drawn up a plan to increase the development of productive forces in the Soviet Far East region. The plan envisions the establishment of local processing and machine-building industries using local materials. We invite our neighbor Japan to take part in the establishment of a joint economic zone and joint ventures.

Ivanov stressed: We plan to set up joint ventures in the Soviet Far East on the basis of open competition. We will not give a monopoly to any individual country. We invite all countries in the Asia-Pacific region to participate in the cooperative endeavor. I believe that the official visit to China this month by Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, will greatly enhance the development of economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and other countries in the region. We know that normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China will remove many visible and invisible obstacles between nations in the entire Asia-Pacific region.

More on Soviet Troop Withdrawal From Mongolia

MPR Minister at Farewell Ceremony

LD1705233089 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 17 May 89

[Report from Ulaanbaatar by correspondent Andrey Leven]

[Text] The first subunits of tank divisions and antiaircraft missile troops have set off from the Mongolian train stations Erdenet and Choir for their homeland—the Soviet Union. The earlier announced withdrawal of the greater part of the Soviet troops which are temporarily on the republic's territory at the request of the Mongolian Government, has begun. In all, more than

50,000 servicemen, as well as 850 tanks, around 1,100 armored vehicles and infantry fighting vehicles, more than 800 various artillery systems, and more than 300 aircraft and helicopters will be withdrawn from Mongolia by the end of next year.

The festive farewell ceremonies of the first subunits of Soviet troops which are setting off for their homeland took place in the town of Erdenet—the young industrial center of Mongolia. They turned into a graphic demonstration of fraternal friendship between the Soviet and the Mongolian peoples and the combat cooperation of their armed forces. The Soviet soldiers and their Mongolian comrades-in-arms and the citizens of Erdenet were addressed by MPR Defense Minister Colonel General Yondon.

First and foremost, Comrade Yondon said, I would like to express profound gratitude to the Soviet soldiers who made a worthy contribution to ensuring the security of Mongolia and to strengthening the traditional fraternal bonds of friendship between the peoples and the armed forces of our two countries. The start of the Soviet troops' withdrawal represents an act of good will and reflection of the principled position of Mongolia and the Soviet Union who are striving to ensure good-neighborliness and trust, to strengthen security in Asia, and in the whole world.

A public group to observe the reduction of Soviet troops and armaments, which arrived specially for this from our country, also participated in the farewell ceremonies of the first Soviet subunits departing for the homeland. The group will observe all stages of the troop withdrawal of Mongolia.

Residents Welcome Returning Troops

LD1705144589 Ulaanbaatar International Service in English 0810 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] The first detachments of Soviet troops withdrawn from the Mongolian People's Republic arrived at the border station of Naushki on Soviet Siberia. Inhabitants of this village and the old Siberian town of Kyakhta gathered at the station to welcome the returning soldiers.

More than a quarter of all Soviet troops plan to be pulled out from Mongolia during 1989 and 1990 would have returned home by the end of this year [as heard]. A partial withdrawal of Soviet troops temporarily stationed on the Mongolian People's Republic is a demonstration of a new political thinking of Soviet and Mongolian leadership, said chairman of the public observation group of the reduction of Soviet Armed Forces and armaments Rogov in an interview with the MONTSAME news agency. The implementation of the defensive military doctrine of the idea of the reasonable military sufficiency and the transition over to the insurance of defense capability of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community are impossible without resolute actions, including unilateral reduction and withdrawal of troops, said Rogov. He and the other members of the group were observing the withdrawal of first Soviet military units from the Northern Mongolian town of Erdenet.

Soviet-Mongolian Economic Commission Ends Session

PM1705082589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] The 36th session of the Soviet-Mongolian Intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation ended its work in Ulaanbaatar. The Soviet delegation was headed by V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Mongolian by P. Jasrai, deputy chairman of the Mongolian People's Republic Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning-Economic Committee.

Near East & South Asia

Iran's Musavi Favors 'Broader' Ties With USSR

LD1705174589 Moscow TASS in English 1710 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Tehran May 17 TASS—Iran regards its relations with the Soviet Union as an important factor which affects the entire region. The two countries have favourable conditions for developing bilateral relations, Iranian Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi said at a meeting with a Soviet delegation held on Tuesday.

The Soviet delegation is led by Nikolay Konarev, Soviet minister of railways and head of the Soviet side of the Soviet-Iranian commission for economic cooperation.

The newspaper ABRAR wrote today that Musavi described as important and useful the results of the Soviet delegation's visit to Iran. Speaking about the forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union of speaker of the Iranian parliament Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Musavi said that it would give a new impetus to Iranian-Soviet relations.

The Iranian prime minister believes that the two countries can have broader political, economic and cultural cooperation.

Commentator Ponders Way Out of Afghan Situation

LD1605130589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1655 GMT 16 May 89

[Alekseyev-Maksimov commentary from the "International Diary" program, presented by Boris Andrianov]

[Text] [Andrianov] Mojaddedi, the leader of the so-called transitional government of the Afghan opposition, rejected the Soviet Union's proposal to hold an international conference with the objective of settling the situation in Afghanistan in an interview with the Peshawar-based rebels' news agency. He said that the Afghans had

decided to continue the armed struggle against the Kabul regime and this is, in his words, the only solution to the problem. I will ask my colleague Aleksandr Malkevich to comment on this statement. I shall let him have my place at the microphone.

[Malkevich] To be honest, the opposition reminds me increasingly of a drowning man. And the latest flare-up of irreconcilability, which was distinctly heard in Mojaddidi's statement, only confirms the impression about the opposition is growing help, in vain, because to jump at a military solution to the Afghan question in the present situation is particularly absurd and simply nonsensical. And so, let us at least take a look on behalf of which Afghans Mojaddidi speaks. He speaks only on behalf of one third of the opposition, which is, in his own words, represented by the temporary transitional government. And if we are talking about the true expectations of the Afghans then according to the REUTER agency, after 10 years of war which has cost more than a million lives and which turned 5 million Afghans into refugees, the majority wishes for one thing: the restoration of peace and tranquility.

Incidentally, far from all the opposition share those bellicose moods which were, I imagine, not without pressure from fundamentalist groupings, were revealed in Mojaddidi's interview. For example, the Afghan press continually publishes reports on talks between the Iranian wing of the opposition and the Kabul government and one should not doubt that any agreement which will be concluded will only strengthen the position and the authority of Kabul that is one agreement on real strength and authority. It should be said that the opposition looks stupid not only in the sense of its appearance. Now it is particularly clearly evident that the transitional government is frankly an artificial structure. It is not even capable of working on the territory to which it is laying its claim. It is not by accident that some Western diplomats speak increasingly ironically about the fact that the rebels' government has up to now not been showing any signs of life. What's more, it is well known that this inner atmosphere has been charged up to the limit by mutual accusations, and by military failures. And from this point of view, the most serious blow to the opposition has been inflicted near Jalalabad. There the Afghan troops broke through the ring of the many-days blockade and are successfully capturing the positions where the rebels were previously, whose strategy—as the British newspaper THE INDEPENDENT writes—turned out to be broken. That means that at this time one cannot even speak about breaking strategic plans, but about the failure of the attack on the first stronghold which was encountered by the opposition after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

There is one thing which raises no doubt. The military and political correlation of forces in Afghanistan now sharply differs from the correlation of forces on 15 February when our last soldier crossed the Amu Darya. One can even say more precisely that it changed from that correlation of forces which appeared to many in Pakistan and in the United States at this moment, while such a change in the balance of forces inevitably affects even the nature of the predictions of those who are openly patronizing the opposition. And their reductions about the speedy fall of the government in Kabul have given place to judgements of a different kind. The new assessments now boil down to the fact that even if at the price of huge sacrifices the rebels capture Jalalabad, Qandahar and perhaps Kabul, they will not be able to retain effective control over the situation in the country. So it turns out, if one judges things in a sober manner, that to this day, the only real forces capable of uniting the Afghans and of finally achieving the cessation of bloodshed remains Najibullah's government and that it is essentially not ceasing its efforts in this direction. Radio Kabul reported that, taking into account the reality which has developed, the Afghan president decided to convene the Loya Jirga, the traditional council, which will represent all strata of Afghan society. Will the opposition join Kabul's latest efforts to reconcile the Afghans? Doubts on this point remain. They will remain so long as Islamabad and Washington continue to consider guns as the first and last argument in solving the Afghan problem, while the opposition is moved by the inertia of blind hostility which stands in the way of seeing not only the changes in the military and political situation in the country, but also the strikingly changed attitude of the majority of the Afghans to the way in which the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan now runs the country.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Generals' Coup Attempt in Ethiopia Foiled

LD1705074489 Moscow TASS in English 0637 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Addis Ababa May 17 TASS—A coup attempt has been foiled in Ethiopia, the republic's State Council announced on Tuesday. A group of generals planned to overthrow the government to impose a military regime on the country, says the council's statement. The coup attempt was also aimed at satisfying the ambitious claims to political power on the part of some generals, plunging the country into an even worse situation and creating a favourable atmosphere for internal and external enemies, the statement pointed out.

The State Council called upon all Ethiopian citizens, members of the armed forces and all people committed to unity and peace on the republic to continue performing their duties.

Lizichev Returns From Congo, Algeria Visits

PM1705081189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 May 89 First Edition p 7

[Unattributed report: "Visits Over"]

[Text] Army General A.D. Lizichev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the Soviet Army

and Navy Main Political Directorate, returned to Moscow on 11 May after completing his visits to the Congo and Algeria.

Army General Lizichev was in the Congo 4 through 7 May, where he was received by Army General D. Sassou-Nguesso, chairman of the Congolese Labor Party Central Committee, president of the country, and minister of defense and security. Meetings and conversations were held with Colonel J.M. Mokoko, chief of the National People's Army General Staff, and Colonel N. Dabeza, chief of the Congolese National People's Army General Political Directorate, during which the sides exchanged experience of party political work in the two countries' armies. Army General A.D. Lizichev and accompanying officials visited the M. Ngouabi Military Academy.

The Soviet delegation was in Algeria 8 through 11 May at the invitation of the leadership of the republic Armed Forces. Army General Lizichev was received by Abdelhamad Mehri, secretary general of the National Liberation Front; General M. Cherouati, secretary general of the National Defense Ministry; General Kh. Nezzar, chief of the Algerian National People's Army Staff; and Colonel Ya. Rakhal [name as transliterated], chief of the Algerian National People's Army Political Commissariat Central Directorate.

At Sheremetyevo Airport Army General A.D. Lizichev was met by Lieutenant General G.A. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and other generals and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The welcoming party included Colonel J.M. Okoumba, military, naval, and air force attache at the Congolese Embassy in the USSR, and Lieutenant Colonel A. Bencaraih [name as transliterated], defense attache at the Algerian Embassy in the USSR.

Monitoring Commission on Namibia Adjourns

LD1605222489 Moscow TASS in English 2148 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Luanda May 17 TASS—The delegations of the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cuba, and South Africa, who attended a special session of the joint commission to monitor the settlement in south-western Africa in Ruacana (southern Angola), decided, following the almost 16-hour talks, to suspend the session and continue it, after additional consultations with their governments, next Friday.

The session in Ruacana, in which observers from the USSR and the United States took part, is meant to give the green light to the U.N. plan for Namibia's decolonisation, whose fulfillment was interrupted as a result of armed clashes flared up between SWAPO [South West African People's Organization] detachments and South African security forces on the north of that territory early in April. The session was, in part, to sum up the results of the two-week-long monitoring of the final pullout of SWAPO military units from Namibia.

In the opinion of Angolan radio, the reason behind the adjournment of the session until Friday was the stance of the South African delegation which insisted, in part, that some 300 SWAPO members were still in Namibia's northern areas. These claims by the South African side conflict with the statement by a U.N. representative to the effect that all SWAPO fighting men are concentrated at bases in Angola north of the 16th parallel.

Martti Ahtisaari, special representative of the United Nations secretary-general, Louis Pienaar, South African administrator-general, and General Prem Chand, commander of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) attended the session in Ruacana.

Zimbabwe Foreign Minister Stops Over in Moscow

PM1005155989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Moscow Stopover"]

[Text] On 8 May Zimbabwean Foreign Minister N. Shamuyarira made a brief stop in Moscow on his way from Kabul to Harare. He had been to Pakistan and Afghanistan on behalf of Zimbabwean President R. Mugabe, chairman of the Nonaligned Movement.

East Europe

Anti-Soviet Demonstrations Held in Krakow

LD1805024589 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] In the Polish city of Krakow there has been an anti-Soviet demonstration and rally by the so-called independent students' union in front of the Soviet Consulate. Law enforcement officials repeatedly called on the assembled to leave. However, the demonstrators began to put up barricades. The police forced the crowd away from the Soviet consulate. There were clashes, and by 1800 order had been restored.

Polish Pilot 'Unintentionally' Crosses Border

LD1709174389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1611 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Brest, 17 May (TASS)—Jacek Scrychorz, an amateur pilot from the Polish People's Republic, in unfavorable weather conditions today unintentionally flew an engineless glider across the Soviet border, landing several kilometers away from the border.

The 23-year-old student from the school of geography at (?Torun) [word indistinct] University, with the help of Soviet schoolchildren who were nearby, made his way to the administration of the "Sovetskaya Belorussiya"

soldier, where Soviet and Polish border guards were arrived. After a joint examination into the incident, the glider and pilot were returned to their homeland.

Yazov, CSSR Army Officials Tour South Moravia

AU1805104789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 May 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Increasing Vigilance—Strengthening the Reliability of the Defense System: On the Visit of USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov"]

[Text] Vyskov—Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR minister of defense, who is in the CSSR for an official friendly visit, yesterday paid a visit to the South Moravian region. Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, and Colonel General Jaroslav Klecha, chief of the Political Main Administration of the Czechoslovak People's Army, accompanied him.

At the airport in Brno he was welcomed by representatives from the political and public life of the region, headed by Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the CPCZ South Moravia Regional Committee.

Afterwards, Dmitriy Yazov departed with his entourage for the Higher Military School of Ground Forces in Vyskov, which is named after Army General Ludvik Svoboda, the three-times-decorated hero of the CSSR and hero of the USSR, where he was welcomed with military honors. Accompanied by Milan Vaclavik, Dmitriy Yazov inspected a guard of honor and saluted the college's military standard which has been decorated with the Order of the Republic and the Order of the Red Star. With the participation of Major General Zdenek Havala, commandant of the college, he watched, among other things, a demonstration of simulators for training tank drivers and the firing of live ammunition by these combat vehicles and artillery.

Army General Dmitriy Yazov and Army General Milan Vaclavik later spoke at a meeting of the commanders, students, and staff of the college. In his speech Milan Vaclavik recalled the rich history of the college and its contemporary role in the system of preparing commanding cadres in the spirit of the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Central Committee session and its role in the creation of conditions for increasing its contribution to fulfilling the tasks of the national economy. In his speech Dmitriy Yazov highlighted issues of the defense capability of the socialist states. Among other things, he stated that just at this time, when the number of personnel in the armies of the socialist countries is being reduced, vigilance must be increased and the reliability of socialism's defense system must be strengthened. This responsibility lies with each Czechoslovak and Soviet soldier. On the level of his martial arts and discipline depends the implementation of the necessary combat readiness of the armies in protecting the achievements of socialism and the collective security of the Warsaw Pact countries, said the most senior Soviet military representative.

Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR defense minister, departed from Vyskov with his entourage for the Gottwaldov district. At the Slusovice United Agricultural Cooperative representatives of the cooperative informed the guests about the results and courses of action of the enterprise in large-scale agricultural production and about the development programs which contributed to the fact that annual productivity per member now hovers around Kcs800,000. Dmitriy Yazov inspected the cooperative's divisions and also became acquainted with its social policy and with how the cooperative members utilized their free time, with the operation of the shopping centers, services, and health care facilities.

Yazov Ends Visit, Returns to Moscow

PM1805122789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 May 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Return to Moscow"]

[Text] Bratislava, 10 May—Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, who is on an official friendly visit to the CSSR, has visited the capital of Slovakia.

The USSR defense minister had a meeting with L. Jamak, first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee, and I. Knotek, premier of the republic government, both members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium.

Army Gen D.T. Yazov left Bratislava for home in the afternoon.

He was accompanied to the airport by Army General M. Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, and other officials.

Army Gen D.T. Yazov arrived back in Moscow the same day.

He was met at the airport by A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, Army General M.A. Moiseyev, USSR first deputy defense minister and chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, Army General P.G. Lushev and Army General K.A. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense ministers, Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, Army General V.M. Arkhipov, USSR deputy defense minister, and other officials.

CSSR Ambassador to the USSR J. Reiterek and Major General J. Mrazek, military and Air Force attache at the CSSR Embassy in the USSR, were among the welcoming party.

CSSR Embassy Official Interviewed on Liberation Day
AU070127b Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 9 May 89 p 4

[Interview with Petr Kulhanek, CSSR Moscow Embassy Official, by V. Lapot: "The Path Chosen By The People"]

[Text] Our peoples mark their mutual holiday for the 44th time—Victory Day over Hitlerite fascism, the culmination of the incredible, intense national-liberation struggle for freedom and independence against barbarity and obscurantism. But today, we do not only bow our heads in the memory of those who gave their all for future generations, for us, living today. We evaluate the achievements of the post-war years, subject them to critical analysis, set new goals and tasks. For there is no future without a memory of the past, and we can reach the future only by steadfastly moving forward. On the eve of the holiday, I had a discussion about this with Petr Kulhanek, minister-counselor of the CSSR on the embassy in the USSR.

[Lapot] 1945 and 1989. This time frame spans many important events in the life of Czechoslovakia. But in brief, could you bridge these dates for us?

[Kulhanek] Forty-five years ago, we received the opportunity to build a life in a liberated state at our own discretion. The Czechs and the Slovaks decided to travel the path of building socialism hand in hand with the Soviet Union. This choice was confirmed by the victory of the workers in February 1948, when as a result of the elimination of the bourgeoisie, the people became the rulers of their own destiny.

Today, we are experiencing a turning point. Life has demanded that we subject to review what had quite recently seemed immutable. And the changes taking place are not ends in themselves. They are directed toward the development of socialist society in all its spheres, material and spiritual. This is an entire set of interrelated changes, new approaches and ideas, new views on the quality of life, on man. All of this is encompassed in the concept of "perestroyka." We stand fully behind it and are gradually turning it into life. The results of the negotiations between the general secretaries of our parties, M. Jakes and M. S. Gorbachev testifies to this.

[Lapot] Czechoslovakia is a country situated in the center of Europe. And although peace has been preserved for over four decades, in spite of the occasional acute situation arising, we cannot forget how frequently in the past Europe has been plagued by military strife. In your opinion, how can this be avoided in the future?

[Kulhanek] We completely support all of the Soviet Union's peaceful initiatives directed toward strengthening peace and security. For us, the further multi-lateral development of the Helsinki process is of primary importance. We desire that it be deepened on the interests of the construction of the "common European home," through dialogue, real disarmament, clear interaction in the conservation of the environment, by utilizing the scientific and technological potential of all countries, and through cultural exchanges and provisions for complete human rights. In this regard, I would like to mention two initiatives of the CSSR. That is, the proposal for the the creation on the line of contact of the member states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO of a zone of trust, cooperation and good neighborly relations, as announced by the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee General Secretary M. Jakes. As well as the proposal regarding the resolution of pressing issues of the preservation of the environment, on which CSSR Government Premier L. Adamec spoke.

[Lapot] Czechoslovakia finished last year with good economic results. Let us take the area of agriculture. The plan for cereals was overfulfilled by 3.2 percent, almost 12 million tons were collected, the average milk yield per cow was 3,777 liters, 247 eggs from each laying hen, and other indices speak for themselves. How do you evaluate the country's economic development?

[Kulhanek] Indeed, last year in the national economy, better results were achieved than in the first years of the 8th Five-Year-Plan. The national income increased by 2.5 billion Kcs over the planned level. Labor productivity has almost doubled in comparison with the 2 previous years. However, as it was emphasized at the sessions of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, we cannot be completely satisfied. In particular, qualitative indicators have not yet reached the level stipulated in the Five-Year-Plan. For example, we have not managed to reduce the material and energy consumption of production, or to eliminate insufficiencies in capital construction.

We cannot fulfill the planned goals without a restructuring of the economic mechanism—the system of planning, prices, credit, hard currency, and organizational structures in administration and production. The complexity of the moment is that we are rejecting old mechanisms while at the same time, the new ones are just now being formulated. Restructuring must be implemented on all spheres of life systematically. As far as economic relations between our countries are concerned, the results are on the whole positive. However, for now, the level of cooperative ties does not correspond to the opportunities of our countries. We must eliminate everything which interferes with their development.

In the process of restructuring, we are being guided by the preference and achievement of our socialist society, by all the positive things we achieved in the past. And today, on these May days, which are for us forever linked with the victory over fascism, we express anew the

feelings of brotherhood and friendship with the Soviet Union, born during the difficult war years. Our people consider sacred the memory of the Soviet people who gave their lives for the freedom not only of Czechoslovakia, but of all Europe.

Commentary Views Hungarian Government 'Lineup'

PM160115289V Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[F Lukyanov commentary: "Budapest: How They Elected the Ministers"]

[Text] A session of the Hungarian National Assembly has confirmed the new government lineup as proposed by M. Nesarth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, in a secret ballot by an overwhelming majority of votes.

Never before has the government formation process taken place in an atmosphere of such glasnost and openness as on this occasion.

This time M. Nemeth announced his intension to reshuffle his "team" 2 weeks before the National Assembly session. Furthermore, this is the first time the head of the government has chosen the candidates for the ministerial posts—with the approval of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] leadership. As reported earlier, the party Central Committee plenum held on the eve of the session adopted a decision to abolish the party schedule, that is to give up its right to determine by decision of the Central Committee who will be appointed to specific state posts. The Patriotic People's Front also gave up its prerogatives. And so the responsibility for the composition of the new government was assumed by the prime minister himself—and the deputies, of course.

According to M. Nemeth, special attention was paid to professionalism coupled with experience in political work. The former government lineup which M. Nemeth came to head only at the end of last year was subjected to very serious criticism. Many people in Hungary believe that the former government failed to display the necessary persistence and consistency in normalizing the country's financial situation. Despite some improvement during the past year, the situation remains strained and has become even more complex of late. Two ministers of the old government—the minister of agriculture and food and the minister of culture and education—recently resigned because they were unable to find sufficient resources to implement the programs which they had drawn up. The adoption of a number of ill-conceived decisions connected with finances has heightened the tension in relations between the authorities and the public. For instance, following advance notice of a tightening of certain customs regulations, tens of millions of dollars allocated for Hungarians' tourist trips abroad poured out of the country to the West in a matter of days. This money, it must be assumed, could have been better used by genuine tourists. It is no accident that it was precisely after these decisions that calls demanding the formation of a "government of experts" were heard with particular emphasis from the public and alternative organizations.

It seems that the candidacies proposed by the premier match the strict criteria concerning both professionalism and political work experience. At least none of the candidacies was rejected after thorough discussion in National Assembly commissions. M. Nemeth personally introduced the candidates to the commissions. They set out their platforms and answered dozens of questions. This was covered in detail by the press and television. It must be noted that this was the first time that such a broad discussion had been held in parliamentary commissions.

The fact that the government is becoming increasingly accountable to parliament is also borne out by the law on no confidence motions, endorsed by the National Assembly session. Under this law, 25 deputies are needed to to table a motion of no confidence in the head of the government, and 15 deputies are needed to raise the question of recalling a minister.

Incidentally, judging by appearances, the new ministers are not likely to be recalled in the near future. They are all well known throughout the country. The post of foreign minister, for instance, has been taken up by Gyula Horn, formerly state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who has been doing diplomatic work since the early sixties. He has the reputation of a man who stood at the cradle of the reforms in Hungarian society on the ranks of the MSZMP itself. The portfolios of minister of agriculture and food went to the 45-year old C. Huetter, who successfully headed the F. Jakeo agricultural cooperative for 16 years, is a Hungarian State Prize winner, and has considerable experience in political work as a National Assembly deputy. The 48-year old Professor F. Glatz, director of the Academy Institute of History and chief editor of the journal HISTORIA, has been appointed minister of education and L. Bekesi, former deputy minister of finance, has been appointed to the very unpopular post of finance minister. F. Horvath is the new minister of industry, and nonparty member I. Kemenes is the chairman of the National Planning Office. Both have worked as state secretaries in their departments up to now.

And so the new Hungarian Government has been formed. Now it is the turn of its action program.

Paper Profiles New SFRY President Drnovsek

PM170511589V Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 May 89 First Edition p 5

[V. Kuznetsov dispatch: "Socialism's Argument: New SFRY Leadership Beginning Work"]

[Text] Belgrade—Yugoslavia is on the eve of an important political event: 15 May marks the expiry of the term of office of the SFRY Presidency, which performs the

function of the country's "collective president" and which consists of eight members (one for each of the six republics—Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, and Montenegro—and one each for the two autonomous regions, Vojvodina and Kosovo).

The turbulent and emotionally charged campaign for the nomination and election of the new members of this collective organ of state power is now over, as your TASS correspondent in Yugoslavia has told the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office. Foreign correspondents accredited in Belgrade naturally paid close attention to the election of the SFRY Presidency member from Slovenia, because in accordance with the principle of rotation the representative of that "northern" republic, as Yugoslavs call it, will also be president of the SFRY Presidency for 1 year, in other words, president of the SFRY. The winner in the direct and secret elections (there were two candidates) was Janez Drnovsek, who polled 52 percent of the votes.

The question that comes to mind is: What kind of man is Janez Drnovsek, the 11th president of Yugoslavia since the death of Josip Broz Tito in May 1980? The question is far from rhetorical. After all, to all intents and purposes he is virtually unknown to the Yugoslav general public. Furthermore, he has not held any major posts in Slovenia or Yugoslavia in general.

But if you go to the small but beautiful town of Litija today and ask the old inhabitants what has become of those who laid the foundations of its restoration and rapid development, they will tell you many amazing stories. Some became sailors and are now sailing the seas and oceans of the world. Others operate powerful cranes and complex units. Yet others have become leading designers, engineers, or enterprise directors. And they are sure to tell you that their labor family produced the youngest... president in the history of Socialist Yugoslavia. Two days after this Slovene enters office as President of the SFRY Presidency he will be 39 years old, because he was born 17 May 1950.

I wanted to see the man who has trodden a difficult road to get where he is today.

Drnovsek is a Communist but not a member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee. In accordance with the principle of the separation of party and state functions, the LCY Central Committee Plenum on February 1989 took the decision that henceforth the president of the SFRY Presidency, in other words, the president of the country, cannot be a member of the party Central Committee.

Janez Drnovsek's past includes work on financial organs and banks and on Yugoslavia's diplomatic missions. He trained at the international economic institute in Osaka and did specialist work in Washington. Incidentally, his doctoral thesis was on the theme: "The IMF and Yugoslavia."

Yugoslavia's new president, who incidentally is a bachelor, speaks fluent English, French, Spanish, and German. People close to him describe him as a serious and self-possessed man but also very sociable. The latter characteristic pleased the foreign correspondents who met with him in the Slovenian capital. You sense that Drnovsek's character includes such traits as purposefulness, persistence, firmness, and determination. From his conversation with journalists you could tell that he is a convinced supporter of the market mechanism in the Yugoslav economy. The new president of the SFRY Presidency and Ante Markovic, the recently appointed president of the Federal Executive Council (the government) are unanimous on that score.

Janez Drnovsek advocates the radical democratization of society and the political pluralism which is already the reality in present-day Yugoslavia. As an economist he sets the goal of achieving the convertibility of the Yugoslav dinar. Judging by recent remarks in the press, he is interested in questions of the SFRY's foreign economic ties with the West and regards the regulation of those ties as one of the main conditions for the country's emergence from a crisis which has lasted almost 10 years now. He proposes that talks begin urgently on Yugoslavia's entry into the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), its membership of the EFTA Council, and on the long term the Common Market.

As president of the SFRY Presidency, Drnovsek will host the ninth conference of nonaligned countries' heads of state and government in Belgrade at the beginning of September and, as far as is known, will assume the post of chairman of the nonaligned movement at the end of the conference. It is his belief that Yugoslavia's prestige in the world will depend not so much on its activity in the nonaligned movement and the international arena as much as the success of the economic reforms and stabilization of the domestic political situation.

To sum up, the country's leadership now has some new people (Borisav Jovic from Serbia, Nenad Bucin from Montenegro, Stipe Suvar from Croatia, Dragutin Zelenovic from Vojvodina, Riza Sapunxhiu [name as published] from Kosovo, and others) to replace those who "brought Yugoslavia to crisis," as they say here.

Presidents Congratulate Drnovsek

PM170948Mon Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 May 89 Second Edition p 7

[USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium congratulates Janez Drnovsek on election as SFRY president]

[Text] To Comrade Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency.

Esteemed Comrade Janez Drnovsek!

We cordially congratulate you on your election as president of the SFRY Presidency.

We express firm confidence that the traditional relations of friendship and all-around cooperation between our countries founded on jointly formulated principles will continue to strengthen and develop for the good of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and in the interests of the cause of socialism and peace.

We wish you fruitful work in this high and responsible post.

[Signed] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

SFRY Cooperation Credit Balance Talks in Moscow

LD1607194589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1737 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 16 May (TANJUG)—Today in Moscow the vice presidents of the Federal Executive Council and the deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers in their roles as presidents of the Yugoslav and Soviet parts of the Joint Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation between the two countries, Aleksandar Mitrovic and Ivan Silayev, began talks on the furthering of economic relations and trade between Yugoslavia and the USSR.

It was stressed in the talks that both sides are interested in raising economic cooperation to a higher level, while at the same time resolving the issue of the significant Yugoslav surplus which is increasingly burdening that cooperation.

The Yugoslav side put forward new proposals which could contribute to solving the problem of the Yugoslav credit balance. Proposals in this respect were also put forward by the Soviet side, which considers that it could involve itself in capital projects in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav side, however, considers that this type of Soviet involvement in investment projects in Yugoslavia could contribute to resolving the current imbalance only if it served to repay the existing debt.

According to the latest Soviet figures, the USSR now owes Yugoslavia $201 billion, of which just over half a billion dollars has been turned into a loan which the Soviet side is repaying at an established rate of interest.

Aleksandar Mitrovic and Ivan Silayev continue their talks tomorrow.

RSFSR Education Minister Visits Serbia

PM1605074589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 May 89 First Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Protocol Signed"]

[Text] A delegation of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education headed by Minister I.F. Obraztsov, which is visiting Yugoslavia, was received by D. Jevtic, head of the Serbian Government and president of the Republic Assembly Executive Council. The successful development of cooperation between the RSFSR and Serbia in the sphere of education was noted during cordial talks.

Then a protocol was signed on cooperation between the Serbian Republic Committee for Education, Science, and Physical Culture and the RSFSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education for 1989-1991. The document provides for the deepening and further concretization of fruitful bilateral ties. This concerns, above all, an exchange of experience in the sphere of scientific and technical development, direct contacts between educational institutions, and an exchange of students.

West Europe

UK's Howe Receives Warsaw Pact Official London

LD1705154889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1500 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] London, 17 May (TASS)—Army General P.G. Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, who is here on a visit, was received today by G. Howe, Great Britain's secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs.

During the conversation which took place the sides exchanged views on topical issues in the international situation and on some aspects of the development of Soviet-British relations. P.G. Lushev noted the importance of establishing and developing contacts in the military sphere as a necessary element in strengthening confidence-building measures in relations between the two countries and between the East and the West as a whole.

It was noted on both sides that the time has come to think about how to set about arranging contacts between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

G. Howe noted that Great Britain receives positively the Soviet proposals on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, which in their basic elements correspond or come close to the approaches of the NATO countries.

On the same day, the Ministry of Defence of Great Britain hosted a luncheon in honour of the Soviet guest. He had a meeting with A. Hamilton, minister of state for the armed forces.

'Cold War' Features in UK Defense Program

PM1705085789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 May 89 First Edition p 5

[Colonel V. Markushin article: "Feature of a Bygone Age: On the Publication of the British Defence Ministry's 'White Paper'"]

[Text] The latest "White Paper" on defence questions has been published in Britain. Let me remind readers that these documents are published annually. Nonetheless, the publication of the latest "triad" has been

assessed by observers primarily as an attempt to influence the course of the most acute debate now taking place within NATO on the question of "modernizing" the bloc's tactical nuclear systems and to justify the buildup of nuclear and conventional weapons.

The publication of the "White Paper" is at the same time a response to processes which go beyond the framework of internal differences within NATO. The "Soviet military threat" thesis so beloved by some people, now seems to have departed this life. West Europeans, and they are not alone, have perfectly understandable reasons for their unwillingness to perceive the Soviet Union as a potential aggressor.

Indeed, there has been a substantial and pleasing evolution in the political situation in Europe. But not everybody finds it pleasing. You get the impression that NATO leadership circles are busy seeking arguments in favor of reviving the "enemy image." NATO periodicals have been carrying serious deliberations regarding the "impermissibility of slackening vigilance." Published material also includes fundamental studies highly charged with propaganda, as well as all sort of "manifestos" claiming to most frankly initiate the broad public in the innermost secrets of military policy.

I do not think that I would be wrong in saying that the British military department's latest "White Paper" should be viewed as one of these "manifestos." It outlines the basic avenues of the British Government's policy on defense questions in the next few years. This is a voluminous publication whose contents are impossible to summarize in a newspaper article. And it is hardly necessary to do so. But it is necessary to say something about the document's essence. This essence boils down to the fact that, to all intents and purposes, the "White Paper" proclaims a continuation of the buildup of the nuclear and conventional arms potential, an increase in the military budget which exceeded 20 billion pounds sterling this year (5 percent more than last year!), and a commitment to the "flexible response" strategy.

In order to be capable of "flexible response," the paper says, NATO must have effective nuclear weapons at several levels. Strategic nuclear forces by themselves, despite their might, cannot—in the authors' opinion—fully meet the alliance's needs. The alliance also needs nuclear systems at "nonstrategic levels" developed [razrabotannyye] with due consideration for the latest technology. "Flexible response," it is claimed, ought to be perceived as the only possible strategic concept for the North Atlantic alliance.

There we have the foundation. It is, however, a foundation not to strengthen security and stability but to maintain confrontation. Of course, this also happened in the past. But all this is no longer in line with the present international situation and the peoples' desire to put an end to the arms race and rule out the threat of war. All this is no longer in line with the interests of the NATO bloc, including Britain itself. But the paper's authors are nonetheless trying at all costs to preserve an outdated dogma for future use. At the same time, one can notice traces of their obvious desire to exert a "sobering" influence on Bonn, Rome, and other West European capitals which have spoken out in opposition on the eve of the NATO session where, according to reports, the "modernization" of tactical nuclear weapons will be one of the main questions.

Generally speaking, British military policy's refusal to take notice of the realities of our time has been most graphically displayed. Admittedly, the "White Paper" does speak of the "new flexibility, practicality, and receptiveness" of Soviet foreign policy as regards other countries' security needs. Nevertheless, and despite this, the line of continuing the arms buildup is, just as in the past, justified by the existence of the same old "Soviet military threat."

One typical example is the speculation about the numerical correlation of tactical missiles. The propaganda aspect here lies in the fact that tactical nuclear weapons are deliberately taken to mean only missiles. And yet it is well known that these weapons also include strike aircraft carrying nuclear weapons and artillery systems with nuclear components. When all this is taken into account, there is approximate equality between the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO.

The biased nature of comparisons can also be traced in other "strike arguments" in the "White Paper." They rely on sensationalism, on the assumption that vivid pictures can have a more effective influence on people's minds than the real state of affairs. History abounds with examples of how truth has been trampled by lies. In this context, the "cold war" age occupies a special position. But this age has passed. It is also time for the disappearance of its features, including those rolling off the British Defense Ministry's printing presses.

Petrovskiy Receives UK Ambassador

15 May

[LD1505170089 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 15 May 89]

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy met Britain's ambassador to Moscow Rodric Braithwaite on Monday.

They exchanged views on prospects for the two countries' interaction in Europe and world affairs.

Manakhovskiy Meets Canadian Businessman

15 May

[LD1505191289 Moscow TASS in English 1940 GMT 15 May 89]

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS—Vsevolod Manakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received prominent Canadian businessman A. Reichmann on Monday.

Some questions of the development of commercial and economic cooperation of the two countries were discussed.

Issues Surrounding Division of Cyprus Identified

PM170134 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Pozner: "Cyprus Reportage: 'If They Live Together...'"]

[Text] Nicosia—The land of Cyprus has been split by a barrier into north and south for 15 years. In many places the artificial border has split even urban entities, as is seen in Nicosia. Greeks and Turks who previously lived together were divided. But both believe that they are Cypriots and that their unfortunate island is their common country.

Recently a meeting in New York between UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, President G. Vassiliou, R. Denktas, leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, summed up the results of the second round of intercommunity talks, which are being followed with the same attention on both the north and the south of the island. It did not produce any sensations. But the main concern was identified. The desire on both sides to continue the talks. In contrast to the second-round meetings, the sides decided to record the general conclusions in writing in order to identify by the end of May the outline of an agreement to settle the external aspect of the Cyprus problem.

Of course, clearing the obstructions which have accumulated on the path to rapprochement is a difficult task. Characterizing the present stage of the intercommunal talks, K. Psillidhis, director of the press and information bureau, noted precisely that the sides "have different philosophies on the settlement process." Whereas the Greek Cypriots base themselves on the desire for a single two-community federal state, the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community adheres rather to the idea of a confederal formation with virtually nominal central power, K. Psillidis explained.

In a personal meeting R. Denktas, leader of the Turkish-Cypriot community, reaffirmed this assessment. Moreover, he once again repeated his intention to maintain a presence on the north of a contingent of Turkish troops as a guarantee. We seized the opportunity to obtain R. Denktas' consent to a familiarization trip to the heart of the island's northern part. In spite of a statement made by him recently about journalists' free passage, actual entry to the north of Cyprus involves great, frequently insurmountable difficulties.

But now we are on the new road leading to Kyrenia. It originates on the northern suburbs of Nicosia, or, as it is called here, Lefkosha. In July last year the so-called "monument to the national struggle and liberation" was unveiled here. A bronze figure of R. Denktas faces the city among the sculptured groups surrounding the monument. Fluttering nearby are the flags of Turkey and the "independent state" which was illegally declared a few years ago on Cyprus' northern territories and which Turkey alone recognizes.

After 15 minutes' drive through a mountain pass we were in Kyrenia with its famous medieval fortress, round bay, churches, which are now closed, and alongside the soaring minarets of working mosques with bell towers. The large number of militars recalled once more the presence on the north of Cyprus of tens of thousands of Turkish soldiers. We went into a small store whose owner, in keeping with local custom, met us as dear guests and offered us a cup of coffee. We introduced ourselves. Hasan used to live on Paphos. After the events of 1974 he based himself on Kyrenia. He has his own business. True, the store building does not belong to him, he rents it.

"Things are fine. So far," Hasan suddenly remembered. He explained: "Inflation is worrying. It can eat up your trading profit in a few days."

Big business is beginning to play an increasingly large role on the north of the island. The birth of the comprador-like bourgeoisie here took place in 1974. Now the process of wholesale dealers and importers swallowing up retail traders and turning them from small proprietors into traders in other people's goods is in full spate. The inflation processes, which are contributing to this, are largely explained by the influence of the Turkish lira. The flourishing tourism can to a significant degree be explained by economic factors. Travelers from Turkey, for example, come mainly because many items here are twice as cheap as those in their country. This is not accidental either. Some businessmen want to take advantage of the situation which has currently taken shape around the north of Cyprus, as a pseudostate recognized only by Turkey, to penetrate the Turkish market.

But this speculative boom does not ease the local population's position. Our life has become much worse than it was before, people visiting Hasan's store said. Unemployment is being felt increasingly acutely. And in addition to this there is an influx of manpower from Turkey. Besides the official immigration from there, people in search of seasonal work flood to the island. For one-fourth of the usual wage they pick citrus fruit, work on construction projects, and sleep there in the open air. It is not surprising that many Turkish Cypriots have begun to feel superfluous on their own land and are leaving their country. The quota of applications to leave for Australia, for example, is already full for the year 1991.

"Moral standards are falling," Hasan sighed. "I even had to put up a sign saying 'Stealing Is Wrong.' If an agreement is not reached, Cyprus will cease to be Cyprus," he said on parting.

The development of contacts and the creation of an atmosphere of trust in relations between the communities is an essential condition for resolving the Cyprus problem, Dhemetrios Khristofias, general secretary of the Reformist Party of the Working People (AKEL) Central Committee, told us. We see that the desire for a peaceful solution to the problem is on the path of consolidation and the desire to get rid of external pressure is growing among ordinary Turkish Cypriots. Of course, settling the contradictions between the two communities does not remove the sources and causes of the Cyprus problem: the presence of foreign troops, military bases, and Turkish migrants. Moreover, the problem of guarantees of the island's independence remains. This question must be discussed at an international conference within the framework and on the basis of the UN resolutions. The intercommunal talks with the UN secretary general's intermediary, however, in our view, register some progress in the necessary direction, and together with the other parties we support President G. Vassiliou's efforts.

The last AKEL Central Committee plenum, our interlocutor continued, set the task of creating a common front for the Greek and Turkish Cypriot struggle for reunification. Speaking about the difficulties on this path, D. Khristofias pointed out, and to the "independent" policy being practiced by the northern authorities but also to individual instances of nationalistic manifestations on the south of the republic. This, he said, is harming the diffusion of the situation on the island, and AKEL criticizes such manifestations.

Of course, the winds of change blowing in the past few decades in Eastern countries have now spread to people's minds. And making real this unusual wind is a difficult task. But we are sure that the Cypriots have the will for this. An obvious example of this is the project to set up the first university in Cyprus. It was formulated at the Cypriot side's request by the international student research center—a specialized organ of the International Union of Students. Recently this project was passed on for discussion to the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. A broad public movement in support of the implementation of this idea has developed in the country. The Cyprus university, according to plans, is to be set up on the buffer zone with entrances from the north and the south. According to the project, the teaching there is to be conducted in Greek, Turkish, and English. One of the chief virtues of the project is the existence of a constant and stable channel of contact between the two communities (young people). As members of the association of friends of the university say here, our young people have to live together on the same island.

Latin America & Caribbean

Panama on Threshold of New Regional Conflict

PY260122 [No Source Given] in Spanish 0300 GMT 27 May 89

[Text] The White House, the State Department, and the Pentagon in recent days have been holding one meeting after another. At the center of their agenda is the problem stemming from the situation in Panama, a small Latin American country. Our commentator Mikhail Marinov believes we are on the threshold of a new regional conflict. Our commentator says:

As Soviet-U.S. talks were under way in Moscow, Washington launched at full speed an anti-Panama campaign. While U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, who was at that time in Moscow, and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze agreed on stating that it was necessary to avoid an old mentality approach and the use of confrontation in addressing regional problems, the U.S. Administration decided to deploy some 2,000 military personnel to Panama.

These men, who are equipped to carry out military operations and who have armored vehicles, joined the 10,000 U.S. servicemen already stationed in the Canal Zone. These moves show that an intervention force is being organized against Panama. According to U.S. specialists, this is an ideal rapid deployment force.

A cause for special concern is the fact that Panamanian campaign is based on the slogan Going further even more. U.S. President George Bush openly urged Panamanians to overthrow General Noriega, commander in chief of the Panamanian Defense Forces.

It has been reported that the White House drafted a secret program designed to organize antigovernment actions in Panama. The Panamanian opposition, which received ideas and financial aid from abroad, called a general strike for Wednesday to protest the National Electoral Tribunal's decision to cancel the results of the 7 May elections. Government officials are preparing to counter the strike.

What is going to happen later? What is happening today in Panama is a direct result of the U.S. economic aggression and military intervention. Panamanian OAS representative Carlos Russell said last Sunday. We cannot but agree with his statement, which unveils a typical mechanism to start a regional conflict in Latin America. Who could guarantee that in a week, or perhaps in a few days, another hot spot will not appear on the world map—a development which could seriously complicate overcome dramatic outcomes.

The last night with the first dove, we start with the first shot. Perhaps the White House, the State Department, and the CIA should remember this truth and refrain from taking further steps toward adding the Panamanian conflict to the Afghan conflict, the Middle East, and others. In the meantime, Marinov said, the U.S. delegation ought to seek new approaches for addressing critical situations.

Correspondent Views Panama's 'Implacable Struggle'

PM170500Z89 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Kamorin's article: "Panama: Whose Move Next?"]

[Text] Panama—For the last 3 days Panama has been in a political vacuum. After the tumultuous events that preceded the announcement of the general elections results, the opposing sides—the government Coalition for National Liberation and the Opposition Democratic Alliance [ADO] have switched the focus of their activity from the streets of the capital to behind-the-scenes national politics.

One senses, however, that the current pause is just a breather in an implacable struggle. The intensity of the political confrontation is being made public in a "war of advertisements." Organizations supporting both the Coalition for National Liberation and the opposition have started publishing paid announcements in the newspapers. Analyses of them shows that both blocs as yet have no clear tactics for a further struggle and are restricting themselves to mutual attacks and the proclamation of their victory at the elections that have been declared null and void. The administration headed by acting President Manuel Solis Palma is also adopting a wait-and-see approach, even though it is its direct constitutional duty to explain the chances of and timetable for new elections. Each side is waiting for its opponent to make a move.

Yet it is by no means ruled out that the political vacuum in Panama could be "filled" from abroad. It has become known that this Wednesday an emergency session of the OAS will be held to discuss the situation in Panama. Judging by the statements by certain Latin American leaders, the session's decisions could be propitious for the Panamanian Government.

In this regard attention is drawn to the statement made Saturday by the ADO leadership, in which the opposition, without setting a timetable, threatens to stage a general strike in the country if its election victory is not recognized.

We also recall that U.S. President George Bush stated Thursday that Washington "will support a decision" made at continental level "to restore democracy in Panama." As is well known, the United States once cited a decision of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States to justify its intervention against Grenada.

Meanwhile U.S. bases in the Canal Zone are receiving brigade subunits of 2,000 men, with which President Bush has decided to reinforce the 10,000-strong Pentagon contingent stationed on the isthmus.

Several political organizations in the country have appealed through the press to the population warning of the threat of U.S. invasion. Judging by the results of a poll held by a local television station, Panamanians consider this threat entirely realistic. This has swollen to say, does not promote the establishment of a climate of calm in Panama either.

"President Bush has started talking rough with Noriega. He has stated that the Panamanian people should do everything to get rid of him," A. Simpson [initial as published], ABC news anchorwoman, has stated.

J. Collins reported from Panama that "opposition leaders were enthusiastic about President Bush's statement. They are planning to step up their actions and bring about Noriega's resignation from his post" (as commander in chief of the national defense forces—IZVESTIYA Editor's Note).

Air Force Chief Defense Departs for Brazil

PM160733Z89 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
14 May 89 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister, left Moscow 13 May on an official visit to Brazil at the invitation of Lieutenant Brigadier O. Lima, minister of aeronautics and commander in chief of the Brazilian Air Force.

He was seen off at the airport by Army General V.M. Arkhipov, USSR deputy defense minister, and other generals and officers.

The send-off party included Romulo Mota Sundeberg, Brazilian ambassador to the USSR.

Menem Declared Victor in Argentine Elections

LD160556Z89 Moscow TASS in English 0007 GMT
16 May 89

[Text] Buenos Aires May 15 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Yuriy Rubinskiy.

Carlos Saul Menem, governor of La Rioja Province and representative of the opposition justice party, has been declared victor of the May 14th presidential elections in Argentina. He received 7,111 votes in the electors' board. To become head of the Argentine Government he needed only 301 votes.

The interior ministry commission said that the justice party won half the seats in the Chamber of deputies and the majority in the senate. Luis Zamora, leader of the organization "Movement to Socialism" which formed the "united left" electoral bloc with the Communist Party, became a deputy.

Carlos Saul Menem will replace Argentine President Raul Ricardo Alfonsin whose term ends on December 10. President Alfonsin greeted the winner and called on him to engage in dialogue, stressing that the forthcoming period will be overshadowed by serious economic difficulties.

The general elections in Argentina took place amidst a severe economic crisis. To some extent the situation hastened the defeat of the ruling party's presidential candidate, Governor of Cordova Province Eduardo Angeloz.

Economic difficulties and defeat in the elections have made leaders of the ruling party seriously discuss the possibility of transferring power before December to allow the new president to fulfil his election promises in practice. But the justice party refused this proposal. It believes that the present government should take serious steps during the forthcoming seven months to improve the country's economic situation.

Political & Social

Poll of Public Shows Election's 'Positive' Impact

PM170512589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 May 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by V. Komarovskiy, doctor of philosophical sciences, and Ye. Dugin, candidate of philological sciences: "Before and After the Elections. Portrait of the Voter in the Mirror of Sociology"]

[Text] The choice has been made: the questions remain—a familiar phrase. That is how (or roughly how) our press has often summed up the results of elections in the West. Today there are few who doubt that this also fully applies to us. There is absolutely no sight or sound, either in the newspapers or on television or radio (let alone in the mass consciousness), of the usual euphoria that now everything is going to go swimmingly. But in addition to "general" questions and problems, we also have specific ones. Basically, for the first time in many years we have actually held, and not just simulated, elections. The majority of deputies are virtually unknown to the population of the country as a whole. And it is not always easy to answer the question: To whom and to what did the voters say "yes" in the elections, and to whom and to what did they say "no"?

It is true that with regard to the makeup of the body of deputies some things are already clear. First of all, it is clear that its present makeup reflects the complex socio-professional differentiation of our society as never before, and so, from this point of view, it is the most representative institution in the whole of our country's history. But, as A. Nazimova and V. Shevtsov quite rightly point out, it is not enough to simply know the socioprofessional makeup of the body of deputies—it is more important to see how they conduct themselves in practice ("The Choice Has Been Made," IZVESTIYA No 127, 1989). Well, we must hope that we will not have long to wait. A great deal will be revealed by the first sessions of the Congress of People's Deputies, which are going to be very rigorously monitored by the voters. According to public opinion polls conducted in mid-April in eight regions of the country by sociologists at the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy Research Institute, during which more than 4,000 voters were questioned, some 90 percent of them said: "The voters should know how deputies vote on the most important issues."

Does this show that the masses' political activeness, which was apparent during the election campaign, is going to grow in the future? Can we regard the elections as a very important indicator (one of the most important indicators) of the masses' conscious, personally motivated desire to play a part in political life and make a conscious political choice? No one today can really give an unequivocal answer to these questions. Differences are arising even at the stage of assessing the election results in general terms.

In the West they are appraised extremely highly. "The reform imposed from above has been unexpectedly taken up from below. People are beginning to turn Mikhail Gorbachev's restructuring into their own weapon" (THE GUARDIAN, 29 March 1989). "The probable consequence of the current new-style elections is that, having once tasted the strength of their vote, the people will not want to return to the old methods" (THE TIMES, 29 March 1989). And so on and so forth.

Many appraisals in our own press are in keeping with this. But in addition to them, you also come across publications in which obvious caution is accompanied by fears for the "foundations of socialism," and it is claimed on a whole series of cases that the election campaign showed the inadequacy of the voters' political sophistication and their inability to make the most of democracy. Opinions like these are being expressed by politicians and some researchers.

Here is a fresh example (although far from the most indicative), concerning the voters' assessment of the significance of the election campaign. In an article entitled "Public Opinion and the Elections. What a Sociological Survey of the Electorate Showed," IZVESTIYA wrote: "Democratic elections are regarded as an instrument of progress toward people's power. However, the population still does not regard sufficiently highly their present significance as a real lever for bringing its own influence to bear on policy and on the solution of society's problems."

We certainly do not question the results of this survey and are prepared to believe, with the author of the article, that at the height of the election campaign the population did indeed regard the significance of the elections in this way. But in the process of the election campaign—not now that it has ended! In a period of revolutionary events (and restructuring falls within this category) the masses, according to V.I. Lenin, often acquire the kind of political experience and attain a level of political science in a matter of weeks and months that, under normal conditions, would take years and decades. Consequently, in our view, it is far more important to turn the attention of the reader not to what preceded the election campaign (or happened during it) but to what has happened since (although it is not quite over yet).

The information we have obtained during our research shows that the population, particularly the urban population, as a whole highly appraises the recent elections and their significance for the future of the country. Approximately one-quarter of the respondents answered in the affirmative to the question of **whether they feel confident that after the elections the task of restructuring will make considerably more rapid progress** and approximately another 40 percent said: "I feel fairly confident, but I also have some doubts." Another one-quarter of the voters said that they do not feel confident. Less than 10 percent found it difficult to answer the question.

Let us turn our attention to the words "considerably more rapid." Excessive optimism here would hardly be appropriate and would most likely be evidence of the exact opposite—a failure to understand the true significance of the elections. It should be added that, despite all the flaws in the new Law on Elections (more than two-thirds of the voters questioned believed that a number of its provisions and the practice of organizing elections must be substantially amended; some 50 percent of them said that on this occasion the nominations of candidates had been really democratic (or are even more democratic than undemocratic).

It is characteristic that the voters by no means abstained the election campaign. In the opinion of almost 60 percent of them candidates' election platforms contained quite a lot of demagogic statements and unrealizable promises. Therefore to simply say that some people campaign deceived the voters and attracted their votes with "empty promises"—which does, in fact, come across in some publications—is tantamount to deliberately oversimplifying the political situation that has taken shape in the country and underestimating the present level of maturity of the public awareness.

The right appraisal of the elections in the voters' eyes as they approach their conclusion primarily shows, as our data show, that people have come to believe in the strength of public opinion and are convinced that they will be able to find effective forms to express that opinion and influence political events. This also creates a largely new political situation in the country. We will make no bold claim that to some extent it has already been created. After all it is not simply a question of how politically wise, principled, energetic, and so forth the people are whom we have elected to the highest body of authority. Something else is no less important: how much more politically wise, energetic, and principled each one of us has become, and how far the choice of candidates was interpreted and realized by us.

By the end of the campaign, just over half of the voters had adequate information on the candidates and the new Law on Elections, and took part in the nomination and discussion of candidates in one form or another. So their choice can be considered more conscious.

This kind of choice was found particularly often in major cities. In Moscow, for example, 73 percent of the voters (an absolute first place) indicated that the guidelines for their choice were as follows: A deputy is a political figure capable of fulfilling state responsibilities and perceiving ways to resolve problems common to the whole nation. You cannot help but remember that not so long ago the main bulk of the population only learned even the names of the deputies when they were given their voting slips.

Yes, we have indeed changed! There are a lot more figures, data, and observations that could be given in confirmation of this.

Those who lost in the elections were primarily people who failed to grasp and understand this and who wanted to continue living and being guided by the old standards. There proved to be a considerable number of such people among the leading workers of local party and soviet bodies. We are convinced that a considerable proportion of them **believed that the elections would proceed as before, in line with the script they had prepared; in other words, they have in fact failed to appreciate the deep meaning of the changes taking place in the country and do not want or do not know how to work in the new way.** It was to them that the voters said "no." What is more, the "no" was most often **addressed not to a specific leader but to the work style and methods of an entire party (soviet) body.**

The motivation to make a choice is evidently still not permanently established in the electorate. That is something for the future. This demands persistent careful preparation for the next stage of the reform—the elections to local soviets. They can (and will) play a great deal in this respect. What is more, the country does not have an established tradition of conducting political analyses and research of elections. There are no research programs and methods on the basis of which it could confidently be said that the masses' activeness in the elections is permanent, due to a deep interest in their experience and ability for self-organization. Nor can the fact be ignored that many candidates' platforms raised the "no" questions more clearly than the "yes" questions. No to the construction of economically flawed enterprises, no to bureaucrats, and so on and so forth. Consequently, it is also easier for the voters to answer "no" questions.

Nevertheless, the survey has clearly confirmed the main positive aspect of the voters' behavior. The overwhelming majority said "yes" to restructuring and the processes of renewing socialist society.

CPSU April Plenum Documents Published

LD2305164089 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 May 89

[From the "Events" newscast]

[Text] The materials of the CPSU Central Committee 25 April Plenum were published as a separate brochure, which contains information, reports on the plenum, the report and closing speech of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, and other documents. The brochure was issued by the Political Literature Publishing House. [video shows brochure cover]

Democratic Union's Political Aims Criticized

PM170714Z89 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[Article by E. Petukhov, worker at a Kemerovo housing construction combine, written in response to a request by TASS correspondent G. Shalaikin: "Worker E. Petukhov: Why I Left the Democratic Union. Getting Others To Do Their Dirty Work"—first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] A local organization of the Democratic Union [DU], whose members have started calling themselves the party of opposition to the CPSU, has been operating in the Kuzbass since January. They have held three constituent conferences, elected a coordinating council, and set up a press center to provide information to local mass media editorial offices.

DU representatives have become permanent participants in discussions at Kemerovo City's "Rabochiy" Political Club. They have used its rostrum to proclaim their programs, principles, and revolutions.

But after only a matter of months the DU has lost popularity, and some of its members have resigned. Why? TASS correspondent G. Shalaikin asked E. Petukhov, a former DU member and a worker at one of the oblast center's enterprises, to discuss this.

It was at sessions of the "Rabochiy" Political Debating Club, which attracts dozens of Kemerovo people right after work, that I first heard of the existence of a local DU organization in the Kuzbass. Initially it seemed to me that the DU was composed of people who essentially support restructuring and the democratic changes taking place both in the country as a whole and in our Kemerovo Oblast. It was also at the "Rabochiy" Club that I heard the DU described as the most humane of all informal organizations.

But my first encounters put me on my guard. For instance, I was told that the venue for coordinating council sessions is secret. And I was not allowed to divulge it. The reason for the conspiracy came to light in March when we met in the apartment of V. Paul, lecturer at the Kuzbass Polytechnic Institute.

The session agenda was extensive: the results of the recent elections, instructions for USSR People's Deputy Yu. Gofik, the setting up of its own newspaper, the manufacture of insignias, and the production of DU badges. The discussion of instructions for the deputy saw the submission of, among other points, items calling for the exclusion from the USSR Constitution of the article on the CPSU's leading role and the creation of a multi-party system in our country. Explaining the decisions, the organization's leaders admitted that the CPSU is their sworn enemy.

At the same time, the coordinating council members agreed to package its proposals for the deputy as coming from the "Rabochiy" Club rather than from the DU itself. I was confused. How could the DU claim to have immaculate credentials on the floor of the workers' club while actually doing the opposite?

I gradually became convinced that this is the rule for the DU. Hiding behind the workers, DU members within their narrow circle call the working class an inert mass of degraded, drunk, and unambitious people. Endlessly repeating Voltaire's words, "I may be deeply hostile to your opinions, but I am prepared to lay down my life for your right to express it," they nonetheless brazenly interrupt speeches by non-DU members at sessions of the "Rabochiy" Club, as happened to the believer Smirnov.

DU leaders strive for purposeful cooperation with A. Sergachev, a member of the "Rabochiy" Club who is well acquainted with the works of Marxism-Leninism and who actively opposes bureaucracy and the command style of leadership, although by no means are all his ideas uncontrovertible. They wanted to use his extensive knowledge and his quest for the truth in the current complex situation in order to combat the party leadership and thereby gain prestige.

There are other aspects of the activity of a small group of DU members which imply that they want other people to do their dirty work for them and are striving to pull such dirty tricks on the quiet, using the "Rabochiy" Club as cover.

In conversations with coordinating council members I discovered various aspects of social life. I learned that they reject Marxist-Leninist theory. Socialism is considered a historical mistake and Lenin a great fraud who used the people for his own personal ends in the revolution. They oppose our system. They call it a utopia or a groundless socioeconomic formation. The Stalinist repressions and the stagnation period are said to show the true face of socialism. At one "Rabochiy" Club session DU member V. Kartashov stated that he sees Leninism as a false science.

The DU devotes serious attention to contacts with the central mass media. Some of its members maintain relations with oblast newspaper journalists. They believe that within the framework of a plurality of opinions newspapers should offer them a platform for propagandizing the aims, tasks, and program of the DU, although the DU also has its own illegal publications. These reach Kemerovo from Moscow and other cities. For instance, the bulletin SIBIRSKAYA TRIBUNA contains items by the DU's so-called Siberian news agency. Admittedly, it is read by a narrow circle of DU members.

DI publications only feature articles by those who advocate changing the social system in the USSR. There is no room for opponents. Consequently, there is no comment to make about the special plurality of opinions that the DI propagandizes.

Quite recently A. Mamanmikov, a correspondent for the "Agency," sent a letter to A. Kushkov asking for information on negative phenomena in the Kazbass. He promised that this information would not only be featured in SIBIRSKAYA TRIBUNA but on Radio "Liberty" broadcasts.

It became perfectly clear to me where the DI is headed. And having realized the anticommunist threat of the organization, I resigned from it. And I was not the first or the last one to do so.

Commission Confirms Semipalatinsk Radioactive Leak

LD1705202989 Moscow in English to Europe 1800 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] The state commission which studied the radiation situation near the nuclear test site not far from the town of Semipalatinsk has drawn the conclusion that the partial leakage of inert radioactive gases that occurred during the underground testing on 12th February presented no danger to the local residents.

On the same day the gases which leaked to the surface were carried by the wind to a small town (?nearby). The commission stated that underground explosions cause no radioactive fallout. At the same time, taking into account the concern of the local residents, the commission recommended reducing the number of underground explosions and their yield.

No Radioactive Contamination Caused

LD1705222489 Moscow TASS in English 2200 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—Radiation background on the testing ground near Semipalatinsk in the Kazakh Republic, where nuclear devices are tested, is on average about 17 microroentgens an hour which does not exceed the average figure of the natural background in the USSR [29 MCR/hour]. Vladimir Bukatov said in an interview with a TASS correspondent. Bukatov heads a commission composed of officials from Soviet ministries and departments, checking the work of the testing ground.

The underground nuclear explosions conducted at present do not cause any radioactive contamination of the surface of the earth. And although radioactive inert gases may sometimes get out, in a matter of several days they become dissipated in the atmosphere and disintegrate, leaving no radioactive trace on the surface. This was the case on February 12 on the settlement of Kurchatovskiy. The maximum aggregate dose of gamma radiation from the blast did not exceed 3 per cent of the annual dose from natural background, which is absolutely safe in terms of health.

At the request of the correspondent, Vladimir Bukatov commented [on] the creation in Alma-Ata of a new public movement called "Nevada" whose participants demand an end to nuclear tests on the area of Semipalatinsk. "For one and a half years our nuclear testing grounds were quiet unilaterally but regrettably, the United States continued an intensive pursue of their nuclear tests programme", he said. "As a result in the past four years we carried out less nuclear blasts than the United States by a factor of 1.5. In these conditions we cannot allow the interests of national security to be placed in jeopardy and so we are forced to continue our nuclear tests. The aspirations of the new public movement 'Nevada' quite accord with the desire of the Soviet Government to end nuclear explosions. The problem could be resolved once and for all if the United States agreed to end their nuclear tests."

Nikonov on Reforms, Elections, Third Events

AU2305200489 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 May 89 p 6

[Interview with Viktor Nikonov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, by Oszkar Fazeri, "The People Determine the Deadline"—date and place not given]

[Text] The Soviet people support the strategy of restructuring, but they demand more efficient and more specific work from the leadership. This is how Viktor Nikonov summarizes the political essence of the parliamentary elections and of the recent Central Committee session. Viktor Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary in charge of agricultural issues, paid a working visit to Hungary this week.

As we can see from the interview below, the 46-year-old politician belongs to the new ideological guard of Soviet leaders. The essence of this new thinking is a democratic society based on the people's independence, their broad rights, and their demanding responsibility. In his style too, Nikonov takes care not to make declarations. He makes plans by relying on maturing human intentions and on the complex changes in prevailing conditions.

[Fazeri] In your view, what are the major political results of the CPSU Central Committee April 1989 Plenum?

[Nikonov] First of all, the understanding of socialism and the interpretation of its operational forces have been renewed. This transpired from the serious and open debate on the complex issues of political, economic, and social restructuring. The plenum expressed the most essential thing, namely that the entire Soviet people

support everything that our Communist Party and its Central Committee initiate in the restructuring process. The main goal, the democratization of our society, has greatly activated our people. This has led our people to a position from which they can realistically evaluate our situation. We can say that the strategic party guidelines aimed at bringing about a revolutionary transformation of our society enjoy full support. At the same time, in tactical and current matters, namely issues that determine our current standard of living, our people expect more from their country's political leadership, the government, and the central economic bodies.

The results of the elections. The party has never had so many mandates as today. Some 87 percent of our deputies are party members, and the majority of our electorate voted for the Communists. However, in places where the people's interests and social demands were disregarded or where the process of democratization encountered opposition, well, in such places not a single leader has received the mandate of confidence, no matter how high his position is. The Politburo thinks that the party has stood a very serious and severe test. It has received confidence as well as the demand to act more efficiently and specifically. In the future, a deviation of words from actions will be totally unacceptable.

[Fuzers] How did the Georgian tragedy affect the Central Committee meeting? What does the investigation of the affair show?

[Nikonov] A very bad thing occurred in Georgia. A group of openly nationalist people led some young people the wrong way and exceeded all boundaries set by our society on the current phase of democratization. The leader of the Georgian Republic was not prepared for the sharp escalation of events, and they became confused and made wrong decisions, and the decisions at the time were made by the Georgian leadership within their own sphere of authority. Lack of experience, confusion, and excessive emotions have all played a role in this. In peace time, there is no excuse for any bloodshed, and nothing can justify a single man's death. There is a single way out. One should constantly be among the masses and be aware of their mood. If problems emerge, one should apply means of clarification and persuasion. If extremist elements come to the fore, serious preventive activity should be carried out.

Anyway, the Georgian and the Russian peoples are bound by a friendship that has stood the test of history. Moreover, the other peoples of the Soviet Union have quite a friendly feeling for the Georgian people. The Georgians are people who love work and who have a great culture. The situation had not given any cause for the negative phenomena. The Georgian workers and peasants have always taken a very objective stand both in evaluating the situation and in their actions. The quick lifting of the curfew is also a direct result of the fact that the people have taken it upon themselves to maintain order.

[Fuzers] Will those responsible be punished?

[Nikonov] Several committees are working on the issue. A state committee—Supreme Soviet—and a government committee have been conducting investigations since 2 May. The fact-finding group of the International Red Cross is also investigating some abnormal events. We will publish the results of these investigations in the near future and we will not hide or doctor any conclusions made by any committee.

However, those who started all this on the basis of open nationalism have not yet spoken up and have not yet come up with an explanation of why they started all this and the goals they wanted to achieve. They are probably keeping silent because, in the view of the majority of the Georgian population (and of all the other nationalities), all this was meaningless, and the initiators made an inaccurate interpretation of conditions and applied incorrect considerations. The real situation of the Georgian people, their language, literature, culture, economy, position, and their relations with the other peoples, all these show that there was no need for this action.

[Fuzers] Talking about the people's economy, in your view, what will the next steps of the economic restructuring be? First of all in agriculture, an area that is regarded as a weak point.

[Nikonov] Not only agriculture, but the entire agrarian sector, including production, harvesting, processing, storage, transportation, and sales, are part of this problem. None of these things is settled, and this causes us problems. The Central Committee March 1989 Plenum clearly outlined the way for a solution, namely a radical reorganization of the relations between production and management in villages. By this some people mean that every change should only lead to a situation in which land has an owner. There is more to this demand, namely that the producer should not work "for the country" in an abstract way, but by taking into consideration the real needs and the real opportunities of a given area.

This is an entire system. Land leasing has emerged. We already have some experience of this. Some 3,000 farms have been working in this system so far, a system in which the kolkhoz and the sovkhoz are nothing other than associations of producers who are leasing land. Some 17,000 farms are currently introducing this system, and they are now somewhere in the middle of the road. Out of our 50,000 agricultural farms, 28,000 are studying economics, and the producers themselves are learning the economic and technological tasks and the entire system of relations and interdependence. The "common people" and the leaders are also learning. We will advance on this road at the pace at which they learn these tasks, not with haste but also not with delay, toward a point at which every means of production, land, and everything else has its own owner. Every worker's income should depend exclusively on his final

achievement. And one more thing. The district management has practically switched to a cooperative system. Several agricultural combines, professional firms, and production systems have emerged. All the factors that could bring results have begun operation.

[Fuyer] When are these results due?

[Nakonov] We agreed not to set up a deadline. The people will shift to the new system as they learn the new ways. They set their own deadlines. The continued shift to self-financing and self-management encourages them to make haste in learning the new ways. It is mainly self-financing and complete self-accounting that have such incentive power. There are 1,700 low-making farms in the country today compared to four times as many last year and we had already rehabilitated 180 agricultural cooperatives and state farms among them by the beginning of the spring field work. We have transferred their property to industrial enterprises or leasing collectives.

[Fuyer] What about the workers at the units that were eliminated?

[Nakonov] These people stayed there under different conditions. Their work has become a function of efficiency.

We do not want this leasing system to be based on hard and labor-consuming manual labor. The demand for technological and scientific development should emerge. We are also making great efforts to fulfill this demand. We have worked out a system of scientific support for the agricultural sector and several thousand scientific production systems are currently operating in the agricultural sector and in the food industry. We have shifted to the rapid modernization of the food processing industry.

One of the reasons behind our acceptance of your invitation was to see how integrated agricultural management is functioning in Hungary, a system that connects producers with the processing sector and even with demanding service branches like the electronics industry and other technological areas. This is not complete, now for us either, as we have also begun its implementation.

[Fuyer] Does the agricultural sector receive more money for technological development?

[Nakonov] Yes. It draws 31 percent of the expenditures of our people's economy in the past 2 years and in the coming 3 years. But the greatest part of these funds is directed toward the third main goal: the social development of the village and its complete reorganization so as to put it on a normalcy way. The creation of a cult of the village home of life, increasing the villagers' ability to retain their population and creating absolutely normal living conditions in the villages, better conditions than in towns, because there has been a great deviation from the Leninist concept of the distribution of production forces in the past 70 years, and exaggerated urbanization has been carried out.

[Fuyer] What were the subjects of your talks with the Hungarian leaders and what is your opinion of these talks?

[Nakonov] At the initiative of the Central Committees of our parties, new processes have begun in our countries. You call all these processes the renewal of socialism, and we call them restructuring. Extremely complex processes have begun. They are quite complex in themselves, and they also give rise to many new problems. We have to test new and more efficient methods in the party's activity. New things are taking shape and experience is accumulating. It is extremely important for the socialist community to learn these developments. For example, if something has already begun in your country, and you already have some results, while we are still seeking solutions for developing our people's economy, in those areas, why should we not apply your experiences?

We had very good talks with Comrade Karoly Grosz. Our common realistic evaluation of the current situation and desire for concrete actions formed the basis of these talks. We are dealing with identical goals, namely to increase our peoples' welfare by means of technical and scientific development and to reach a constitutional state through democratization and openness.

Georgian Panel Terms 9 Apr Actions 'Unlawful'

PM190722Mo Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 7 May 89 p 1

[GRUZINFORM report: "At the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Commission"]

[Text] The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet commission investigating the events which occurred in Tbilisi on 9 April 1989 held its regular session. Taking part in its work were Academician A.D. Sakharov and other members of the special group created under the commission to ensure feedback to USSR people's deputies, as well as members of the special group of republic students included in the commission.

Prior to the start of the session, and due to the complications arising in the course of the commission's work, its members unanimously adopted a statement and an open letter to [Transcaucasian Military District Commander] Colonel General I.N. Rodionov which are published in today's issue of the newspaper.

Reports on questions concerning the activity of law enforcement organs before, during, and after the tragic events which occurred in Georgia's capital were delivered by V.A. Razmadze, Georgian SSR prosecutor; Sh.V. Gorgiadze, Georgian SSR minister of internal affairs; and V.A. Sharashenidze, Georgian SSR minister of justice.

Answering specific questions by commission members, the leaders of the republic's law enforcement organs were unanimous that the unauthorized rally outside Government House and the demonstrators' calls, slogans, and banners at the rally did not make it necessary to bring military subunits into the city and to impose a curfew. Moreover, this decision was made without the notification of and coordination with the republic's administrative organs which, as a matter of fact, had offered the use of their own forces to put an end to the unauthorized rally. The outcome was that they were virtually left out of any direct participation in formulating and executing the operations to terminate the rally.

Academician T.V. Gamkrelidze, leader of the commission's special group for ensuring feedback to USSR people's deputies, and Academician M.M. Zaalishvili of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the chemical experts' subcommission, briefed the session on the work done to identify the precise names of chemical substances used to disperse the demonstrators. The results of laboratory tests give grounds to assume that the chemical substance which was used and which was unidentified until quite recently, was the toxic gas known as "CS" (chemical name orthochlorobenzenil malononitrile).

In view of the great responsibility borne by the commission it was decided to accelerate the progress of investigations into the tragedy which occurred and to provide documentary proof of the unlawful nature of the actions taken, so that these materials might be used to support a question to be asked by a group of deputies at the forthcoming USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

Poisonings 'Crime Against Humanity'

PM190535Z 18 May 89 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 17 May 89 p 1

[GRUZINSKOM-attributed "Statement by the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Commission Investigating the Events Which Occurred in the City of Tbilisi on 9 April 1989"]

[Text] Developments in the city of Tbilisi following the events that occurred on 9 April do not substantiate the existence of a so-called emergency situation and demand an appropriate political and juridical evaluation.

One of the requirements issued by the military and official authorities for lifting the curfew in the city was that studies be resumed in schools and higher education establishments. This requirement was met, and subsequently resulted in the mass poisoning of school pupils and students in school and higher education establishment buildings situated near the scene of events.

A decision was made on 29 April to move the site of the official funeral ceremonies from the square outside Government House to the Temple of Zion. The mass poisoning of citizens occurred again when the wreaths and flowers were moved.

The persons with whose knowledge and on whose instructions toxic chemical substances were used in Tbilisi on 9 April must certainly have foreseen and, even though they may not have wished it, must have at least knowingly allowed the occurrence of mass poisoning of children and adolescents when they demanded the resumption of studies in classrooms and lecture halls. They were the only ones who knew that the toxic substances used on that day could have had grave effects even 20 days after they had been used, even in open and well-ventilated places.

While the curfew was in effect the military authorities could have decontaminated the area where toxic chemical substances had been used, but this was not done and the occurrence of extremely grave consequences was thus predetermined.

More than 2,500 persons have filed poisoning complaints.

The situation was further aggravated by the fact that, even after officially admitting the use of toxic substances, the appropriate authorities did not announce their composition and did not name the necessary medicines for treatment, thus creating extreme difficulties in the provision of effective treatment for several ill patients. This fact created universal indignation and resentment among the republic's population. A group of young people proclaimed a hunger strike as a result.

The above-mentioned facts contain elements of a crime against humanity, which could be classed as an international crime.

Common sense and an elementary sense of justice make it necessary to identify and condemn those guilty of committing these grave crimes, because otherwise this will be an a heavy burden on the Soviet state as a whole and will certainly have a negative effect on the planned progress, restructuring, and democratization of our society.

In these circumstances it is necessary, by objective unimpeachable the demands of Article 119 of the Georgian SSR Constitution, according to which "it is incumbent upon all state and public organs, organizations, and officials to meet demands by Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet commissions and supply them with any necessary materials and documents."

Gen Rodionov 'Hindering' Inquiry

PM181510Z May 89 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 7 May 89 p 1

[GRUZINFORM-attributed "Open Letter to Comrade Colonel General Igor Nikolayevich Rodionov" — commander of the Transcaucasian Military District]

[Text] According to Article 119 of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Constitution: "It is incumbent upon all state and public organs, organizations, and officials to meet demands by Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet commissions and supply them with any necessary materials and documents." But you have failed to meet these elementary constitutional demands and are thus hindering the commission's work. You refused to pass relevant materials to Lieutenant General I.I. Dzhondzhadze, member of the commission and corresponding member of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, and you did not receive and talk to Academician A.D. Sakharov, USSR people's deputy and member of the group of USSR people's deputies for the provision of feedback.

The commission categorically demands that you make the necessary materials and documents available to the persons authorized by the commission and that you supply the commission with appropriate explanations.

[Signed] Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission Investigating the 9 April 1989 Events in the City of Tbilisi

Doctors Confirm Use of 'CS' Gas

PM180512Z May 89 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 7 May 89 p 1

[GRUZINFORM report: "Enlarged Medical Conciliums Announcement"]

[Text] An enlarged medical conciliums session has been held at the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Ministry of Health, attended by members of a subcommission of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet commission investigating the 9 April 1989 Tbilisi events, chief physicians, and chief specialists and leading specialists from the Georgian SSR and USSR Ministry of Health and the USSR Ministry of Defense. The conciliums session examined and coordinated questions concerning the diagnosis, treatment, and rehabilitation of patients, and adopted the following announcement:

Persons who suffered poisoning by chemical substances are among the dead and injured as a result of the tragic events in Tbilisi on 9 April 1989. Different degrees of poisoning, including severe poisoning, were diagnosed among the victims.

For days on end there was no information at all about the nature of the toxic substances' effect. When requested to do so, representatives of the military department and the Ministry of Internal Affairs troops supplied no information about the toxic substances and, moreover, categorically denied that such substances had been used. Consequently, specialists from the USSR Ministry of Health were invited on 10 April to help the victims, and they established that the poisoning had been caused by substances with an irritant (tear-inducing) effect containing elements with a neurotropic (parasympatholytic) effect. Treatment was designed to suit the nature of the substances' effects: decontamination therapy, gastrolavage, and so on.

It was necessary to identify the composition of the substances used in order to make an accurate diagnosis and design treatment. On 14 April representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs troops and the military command confirmed the use of chloroacetophenone [CAP] (tear gas). But the existing clinical picture of the damage went beyond the framework of the effect of CAP alone.

The absence of information on the chemical substances used made it difficult to accurately identify the causes of poisoning and the treatment tactics for the targeted prevention of complications. The shortage of data on specific substances prevented the elaboration of sanitation and hygiene measures to decontaminate the area and premises where the chemical substances were used. The fears were confirmed. A few days later students at the Georgian Theatrical Institute and at Tbilisi No. 1 secondary school, located in an area adjoining the scene of events, were admitted to medical institutions with signs of acute poisoning. For the purpose of consultation and provision of practical assistance to victims with different symptoms, the Georgian SSR Ministry of Health once again invited a group of specialists comprising a toxicologist, a pediatric toxicologist, a neuropathologist, a psychiatrist, a therapeutist, a cardiologist, and an endocrinologist.

On 21 April the members of the public medical commission sent a statement to the USSR prosecutor general, the USSR minister of defense, and the USSR minister of internal affairs on the need to be given information on the chemical substances used. No reply was forthcoming.

Many residents reported complaints of poisoning once again on 28 April, when the area outside Government House was being cleared. Dozens of them were hospitalized. These patients were examined by a group of specialists from the USSR Ministry of Health who concluded that this was a case of acute poisoning of people by substances with an irritant or neurotropic effect. The clinical picture of the newly admitted patients once again went beyond the framework of CAP effects. All this aggravated the overall situation and promoted the development of neurotic conditions (psychogenesis), as evidenced by the sharp increase in the number of reported cases of poisoning.

Persistent action by the republic leadership and the USSR Ministry of Health, with help from the All-Union Red Cross and Red Crescent Society, produced information about the special means used on 9 April and codenamed "Cheremukha." Their composition included CAP, Cladon [as transliterated], isopropyl alcohol, vegetable oil, and in some cases propellant. Cladon is a neutral gas, an atomizer, while CAP is an irritant toxic substance (tear gas). Isopropyl alcohol is a toxic solvent. Vegetable oil assists fixation.

It was officially announced for the first time that a second chemical substance had been used, the irritant CS gas, whose effect is ten times greater than that of CAP and, at the same time, produces a neurotropic effect when used in highly concentrated form. In certain conditions, CS gas persists in the environment for more than 4 weeks. It has been used both as a police gas and as a combat agent by the United States in Vietnam. According to published data, isolated deaths have been reported in certain conditions, when it is used in highly concentrated form.

Taking into account the nature of the clinical symptoms displayed by patients and the possible combinations and different concentrations of the aforementioned substances with different effects, it can be concluded that the existing picture of damage fits within the framework of CAP and CS gas effects. Additional studies are being conducted.

It must be stressed that CAP and CS gas are substances which have been well researched both in the Soviet Union and abroad. This made it possible, wherever necessary, to modify treatment once information about the use of CS gas had been received.

Commentary by the republic's Minister of Health Izaktiya Menaguerishvili

All this information was necessary to provide correct guidelines for medical personnel in fighting to save the patients' health. The combined conclusion noted that the treatment which was being given was perfectly suitable. At the same time, necessary modifications were applied to the treatment methods and additional medicines were used.

Members of the enlarged medical conclusion noted in their television statements—and I would like to focus attention on this once more—that at the present stage of treatment, when the main task is to restore the patients' health, it is extremely necessary to create an atmosphere of calm for them. Unnecessary excitement is very harmful for such patients. We ask the public not to disturb the patients unnecessarily.

Georgia's Gamsakhurdia Meets Academician Sakharov

PM180054Tbilisi ZARIA VOSTOKA in Russian 7 May 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Conversation in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] G.G. Gamsakhurdia, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, received Academician A.S. Sakharov, USSR people's deputy, and his wife and had a conversation with them. 5 May. Academician A.D. Sakharov is in Tbilisi to take part in the work of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet commission investigating the causes of the 9 April events. There was an exchange of opinions on the political situation and the work to stabilize the situation in the republic's sociopolitical life. Academician T.V. Gamkrelidze, USSR people's deputy, took part in the conversation.

Georgian Leader Admonishes Republic's Journalists

PM210830Tbilisi ZARIA VOSTOKA in Russian 7 May 89 p 1

[GRUZINFORM report: "Meeting in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] A meeting between G.G. Gamkrelidze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and editors of republic newspapers, journals, television, and radio, GRUZINFORM, and central newspapers' own correspondents was held in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee on Press Day, 5 May.

There was an exchange of opinions on a broad range of problems pertaining Georgia's public life, the role of the press, television, and radio in the interpretation and coverage of the new processes occurring in the republic's sociopolitical life, and the tasks of journalists in shaping public opinion, restoring confidence, and consolidating society as a whole.

It was said that, without forgetting the tragedy, it is necessary to overcome its consequences, to strengthen people's courage and faith in restructuring and the irreversibility of democratic renewal, and to preserve and create conditions for the development of positive trends and progressive innovations in political, economic, and spiritual life. Only a calm atmosphere makes it possible to conduct a constructive political dialogue, in which all public forces and movements and all generations of people must participate on an equal footing.

Today there is a greater need than ever for an accurate and profound political analysis of events, to make it possible in complex conditions to consistently pursue the set line of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost. This is indeed the approach adopted in preparations for the forthcoming Georgian Communist Party Central Committee plenum. To listen to people, to convey their

thoughts and feelings, and to draw correct political conclusions—this is now the most important aspect of the mass media's work. Political analysis must incorporate serious discussion of paramount social and daily life needs, and must never be treated as secondary to newspapers and journals or to television and radio. Mountainous Adzharia, where a lot of work has to be done to help people and resettle them in safe places awaits serious help from the public, including journalists.

In this context, emphasis was placed on the need to restructure the work of the press and the mutual relations between editors, editorial office party organizations, and the apparatus of party committees, and to widen the channels of communication with the public. There is a pressing need to accelerate the healthy reorganization of the press from everything that prevents it from being close to the people with their aspirations and concerns. And this actually enhances rather than diminishes the personal responsibility and exact self-control of the political leaders of publications.

The shaping of correct public opinion presupposes correct and prompt information on the measures and programs now being implemented by the republic's leadership in coordination with the public, including those for overcoming the consequences of the tragic events in Tbilisi, providing treatment for the victims by rendering the most authoritative forces, objectively and fully explaining all the circumstances surrounding the events, and perpetuating the memory of the tragedy's victims. Intense work is now under way to solve problems which had not been discussed for a long time—something which enhanced tension in society.

The participants in the meeting were unanimous that the strengthening of the republic's real political and economic sovereignty and its further development along the path of democratization are possible only in an atmosphere of the traditional friendship, fraternity, mutual respect, and mutual assistance among all the peoples living in Georgia. Unobjective and distorted information and conjecture cannot assist people's cohesion and international unity. It was emphasized at the meeting that all questions of interethnic contacts in Georgia, including Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and other multinational regions in the republic, must be resolved on a fair and objective basis with participation by the scientific and creative intelligentsia and taking the opinion of the entire public into account. The mass media leaders and central press journalists were briefed on the work done along this avenue by the republic's leadership.

At the conclusion, G.G. Lumbaradze answered questions from participants in the meeting.

Georgian Foreign Ministry Given Wider Powers

PM170932Z89 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Correspondent G. Lobanidze report under the rubric "Topical Interview": "Step Toward Independence"]

[Text] Tbilisi—Today the work of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Foreign Ministry acquires a new status. Henceforth it will cease to be an organization with ministerial functional purposes and become a coordinator of political, economic, scientific, technical and other forms of the republic's cooperation with foreign countries.

The work of structural subdepartments such as the Georgian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Georgian Import-Export Agency, the customs service and other ministries and departments will be coordinated by the Georgian Foreign Ministry. It will make recommendations and assist in information and propaganda backup for measures such as, for example, the republic's participation in the activities of international organizations and the holding of conferences, symposiums, and exhibitions.

"One of the most important tasks of our new structure," Georgian SSR Foreign Minister G. Dzhavakhishvili said, "is to assist local establishments and departments to establish contacts with foreign firms. To this end an administration is being set up under the ministry to coordinate foreign ties. A decision was adopted recently to create a Georgian department of the USSR CINEMA Commission under our ministry. Naturally, the strengthening of economic ties largely depends on the availability of appropriate skilled cadres. To this end the ministry will participate in setting up a department for training broad-profile leaders and specialists in the sphere of foreign economic activity, to operate on principles of economic accountability and self-recovery at the management school of the Tbilisi Branch of the Moscow Cooperative Institute of the Central Union of Consumer Societies Scientific Training Complex.

"Here is another interesting fact. Under an agreement the Vienna Bank will be taking on three of our specialists with higher economic education. Our ministry and the Tbilisi School of Managers are setting up a joint consultative consultation center with the West European country. It provides, among other things, organizing a regular exchange of tourist groups. The venture will also help to deepen economic integration in consumer goods production, to strengthen the technical economic base, and to introduce the latest equipment and technology.

"A joint commission of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers on the measures to improve the Georgian Foreign Ministry's activities emphasizes that implementing what is planned is a real way to extend the republic's sovereign rights."

Shipment of Aid, Goods Sent to Georgia

LD1015140589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1241 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 May (TASS)—Today a shipment of aid for the victims of the elements in Adzharia was sent to the Red Cross committee of this autonomous republic in Soviet Georgia. Tents which can accommodate 10 people, blankets and bed linen, disposable syringes, and a large quantity of clothing for adults and children will be delivered to Batumi. The road was dispatched by the executive committee of the union of societies of the USSR Red Cross and Red Crescent.

As the executive committee informed a TASS correspondent, an operations headquarters for giving assistance to the victims has been set up in Tbilisi. The republic's Red Cross, together with the Georgian Ministry of Light Industry, sent their clothing, laundry soap, and kerosene. A collection of money and a clothing drive have been started among the people, and a volunteer construction crew is being formed. The Tajik Red Crescent contributed R3,000 to aid the victims. A special account has been opened—the Adzharia Red Cross "charity fund"—at the Batumi branch of Zhilsotsbank.

Gorbachev To Receive NKAO Representatives

AU2605121789 Yerevan ARMENPRESS International Service in Armenian 2215 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Yerevan, 17 May (ARMENPRESS)—A meeting of the USSR people's deputies elected from our republic was held on 16 May at the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium. Levon M. Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR people's deputy, opened the meeting. He briefed those present on the proposals for the preparations and procedures for the USSR congress of People's Deputies to be convened in Moscow on 25 May.

The meeting's participants thoroughly discussed the problems related to the preparations for the upcoming congress of the USSR people's deputies. The following USSR people's deputies addressed the meeting: S. Khanzadyan, S. Ampartsumyan, E. Mirzoyan, G. Khandzhyan, S. Sarkisyan, the cathedra of all Armenians Vazgen I, R. Vardanyan, S. Ampartsumyan, G. Sdasyuk, A. Grigoryan, V. Navasyan, and S. Galstyan.

They spoke about the deputies' enormous responsibility to the people, about the need to create conditions conducive to productive work on their part, and about creating a parliamentary mechanism for obtaining objective information for the timely organization of the problems concerning the workers. The need for the deputies to analyze their promises to the people in order to successfully implement them was also stressed.

At the meeting a detailed conversation developed on the complex socio-economic and psychological situation that has arisen in Armenia and in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The urgency of expediting the pace of restoration work in the disaster-stricken zone and the provision of active assistance, employment, and housing to the quake-stricken and the refugees was also mentioned.

It was indicated at the meeting that lately the situation in the NKAO has become acute. The reasons for this were detailed in an open letter addressed by the representatives of the NKAO's Armenian population to Comrade M.S. Gorbachev.

M.S. Markaryants, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers and USSR people's deputy, briefed the deputies on the efforts to implement the well-known decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on the socio-economic development of the NKAO. He also referred to the ongoing restoration efforts in the disaster zone.

These and other problems will be discussed during the upcoming session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet to be convened on 27 June.

S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and USSR people's deputy, addressed the meeting. He specifically underlined that the people's deputies elected from the Armenian SSR must add their weight, contribution to the efforts to deepen the restructuring process in the country and in the republic. And they must become the active implementers of the party's policy and of genuine democracy.

Comrade S.G. Arutyunyan informed the participants that a specially formed CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission will meet on 19 May in Moscow under Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov to examine a report by A.I. Volskiy, chairman of the NKAO Special Administration Committee, on the situation that has developed in the NKAO and on measures to resolve it. Arutyunyan also revealed that N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of USSR Council of Ministers, had a telephone conversation with M.S. Gorbachev, first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who is on an official visit to the People's Republic of China. Mikhail Gorbachev said that on his return to Moscow he will decide on a date to receive the authors of the letter sent to him by representatives of the Armenian population of the NKAO.

The USSR people's deputies from the Armenian SSR were unanimous in the view that the questions pertaining our people will be addressed at the upcoming congress of the USSR people's deputies.

Volskiy Meets NKAO Citizens; Construction Halted

[illegible]

[Text] The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] remains complex. The majority of the labor collectives (with the exception of the workers in the agricultural and public catering sector) have continued to stay away from work. The situation in the Stepanakert schools has improved somewhat. Today, 17 May, the [word redacted] of students have gone to classes. Specialized intermediate institutions are also operating. On 16 May Volskiy, chairman of the NKAO Special Administration Committee, met in the oblast's capital with Armenian citizens from the city's Armenian and Azerbaijani population. During the meeting agreement was reached on terminating the construction of the industrial buildings in [word redacted] until a final decision is made on this subject.

Volskiy endorsed the view held by the senior citizens of the two nationalities to appeal in print to the Armenian informal collectives to come forward with a statement allowing the Azerbaijani into their (workshops) in Stepanakert. Volskiy stressed that under no circumstances could clashes on unjustified grounds be allowed. All the accumulated problems should be resolved in a calm atmosphere.

Vezirov Addresses Party Aktiv Meeting in Baku

[illegible]

[From the "Vremya" newscast announcer-read report]

[Text] A meeting with the republican party aktiv was held today in Baku in the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. Tasks concerning the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee April plenum were discussed, and the results of the work on holding the elections of USSR people's deputies were summarized. The meeting stressed the need for strict adherence to the CPSU's principled policy in the sphere of interethnic relations, especially in the conditions of the situation in the region, which has become more complex.

Comrade Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed those present.

Zeynalov Speaks at Azerbaijan Ideology Meeting

[illegible]

[Text] The republic's ideological workers meeting today examined the problems related to restructuring ideological work now and [words redacted]. The secretaries of the city and raion party committees and those of the party committees of the ministries, main administrations, establishments, organizations, universities, scientific administrations, and mass media and propaganda organs participated in the conversation.

Comrade Zeynalov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, opened the meeting. A report was read by Comrade Aliyev, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Ideology Department, and speeches were made by (Tanashov), first secretary of the [word redacted] Kazax Party Committee [raikom], Kasumova, secretary of the Baku City Party Committee [gorkom], Guseynova, second secretary of the Kirovabad Gorkom, Ismailov, secretary of the Nyugedi Gorkom, and Gasanov, secretary of the Imishli Raikom.

The report and speeches noted that the new ideological conditions which have been created in the republic and the restructuring of social consciousness require the strengthening of the party's ideological work in every way and the resolute enhancement of the forms and methods applied in political training.

The meeting also noted that the ideological aktiv and the local party organizations must play a greater role in the effort made to modernize society in a revolutionary way, deepen the process of increasing the results of economic and political reforms, and fulfill the tasks in the popular education and scientific and cultural fields as well as in the interethnic relations domain.

Roundtable meetings were held. The leading officials of the republic's ministries, main administrations, creative unions, and mass media organs participated in them.

Plan To Improve Georgia-Azerbaijan Ties Approved

[illegible]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau approved the main directions of the plan to further improve the traditional relations between the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and the Azerbaijan SSR. This plan has been jointly drawn up by the central committees of both republics.

A decision was adopted to facilitate the exchange of delegations between the cities, towns, and establishments of the two republics, which have traditional production and economic relations, in order for them to become acquainted with progressive experiences in party affairs, ideological work, and socioeconomic activities. Socio-political arrangements should be used, organized to mark historic and revolutionary developments and the jubilee anniversaries of renowned party and state officials, revolutionary figures, and participants of socialist construction work in the Transcaucasus. Measures should be taken to make the museums of

renowned officials, who made significant contributions toward strengthening the friendship between the people of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Georgian SSR, everlasting.

Appropriate measures were established to strengthen cooperation in science, education, literature, and art and in improving the teaching of the Georgian and Azerbaijan languages in both republics' schools. Appropriate measures to broaden the work that will be carried out by the press organs, the radio and television networks, and the cultural and fine arts administrations of both republics, were also taken into account for the plan's realization.

The full text of the decision will be published in the press.

Ukrainian Clerics Stage Strike at Supreme Soviet

LD1707164789 Hamburg DPA in German 1544 GMT 17 May 89

[Excerpt] Moscow, 17 May (DPA)—Three bishops and three priests of the Ukrainian Catholic Church began a hunger strike today in the reception room of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. They told DPA in Moscow today that through this they hoped to achieve official recognition for their church by the Soviet state. A statement addressed to the Soviet head of state says that the bishops have begun a hunger strike because they had once again been refused a reception, in spite of promises made to them.

Bishops Filimon Khurshchabov, Pavlov Vasilyi, and Sopronii Meterkov and priests Grigoriy Serkasiv, Vladimir Vorobchchov, and Igor Voroniak come from Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, Ternopol, and the Carpathian Ukraine area. They wrote to Gorbachev: "For many years now we have turned to the Presidium with a request for a top-level meeting with representatives of the Soviet state in order to find a constructive solution to the questions of the legalization of our church and the end of all kinds of persecution. To date, however, no one has received us." [passage omitted]

Leningrad Press Center Opens With News Conference

PM1807151189 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 1

[V. Kozhevnikov report: "Value of Information: CPSU Obkom Press Center Opened in Smolnyy Yesterday."]

[Text] "What are the present tasks facing the Leningrad Oblast party organization following the 26 March elections and the recent CPSU Central Committee April plenum?" That was the first question heard at the CPSU obkom committee [obkom] press center, which opened in Smolnyy yesterday.

The decision to set up this permanent press center, which is designed to promote more extensive information among the mass media and Leningraders on the activities of party, soviet, and economic organs and the situation in the region, was taken, as is well known, at a session of the obkom party conference held at the end of last year. And now the first news conference is being held under its auspices.

The subject was the most topical and pressing subject possible: the results of the 23 April CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The information for journalists was provided first hand by direct participants in the plenum—CPSU Central Committee members Yu.F. Solovyev, A.N. Gerasimov, V.Ya. Khodyrev, and V.K. Pavlova, together with A.M. Tatarov, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission.

The discussion, which began with a short introductory speech by Yu.F. Solovyev, was highly unconstrained, did not dodge any sore points, and often turned into a dialogue or sometimes even a monologue by journalists who thought it necessary to share their views on the problems raised at the plenum and on the political and social situation in the region.

What were the Leningrad Central Committee members' feelings before, and after the plenum? Is it planned to hold joint sessions of Leningrad Oblast and City Soviets? How will a dialogue be conducted with the so-called informal organizations? Will the soap and tea problems finally be resolved? Do we need a discussion about a multiparty system? Who did only certain party committee officials take part in the second round of the elections?

There was a cornucopia of questions, and with each journalist probably thinking his or her question to be the most important. Bearing these priorities in mind, reports on the news conference will probably differ. But I think the main value of such press conferences is that journalists can obtain the most *accurate* information they need.

The kind of "personal information" obtained yesterday will probably be repeated in future articles and reports.

But now, but on the heels of events, I would like to say the following. However different the questions and answers may have been, there was one common theme running through the news conference.

Yes, the Leningrad party organization and its elective leading organs clearly realize that the situation in the region is complex and involved. Changing it for the better, above all by meeting the social needs of Leningraders more fully, is the paramount task for elected leaders of party organs at all levels, primary party organizations, soviets, social organizations, and labor collectives.

To this end it is also necessary to develop intraparty democracy as a preferential way to enter into constructive dialogue and cooperation with social formations of working people, to build the aforesaid party structures, and to learn to resolve complex issues during frank and principled debate.

An urgent task is to further develop glasnost and enhance the level of information available to Leningraders on the most important sociopolitical issues and on party organs' practical activities. An analysis of the results of the election campaign shows in particular that voters' insufficient familiarity with these activities often affected the 26 March voting results.

The party oblkom press center, which will be open twice a month, or more frequently if necessary, is also designed to solve the problem of supplying Leningraders with better information.

In other words, it is necessary to do everything to move restructuring forward, to develop people's independence and initiative, and to meet their needs and everyday interests. Party organizations were again given this task by the CPSU Central Committee April plenum.

Once we have moved matters forward, and restored and strengthened party workers' standing with the masses, it will be possible to give more meaningful consideration to future elections and seats in the Congress of People's Deputies.

In short, the Central Committee plenum participants noted, the mood before and after the trip to Moscow was businesslike.

Leningrad Conference Views Fight Against Crime

PM2005174789 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Apr 89 p 1

[LENTASS correspondent M. Morozov report under the rubric "It Happened Yesterday": "How To Safeguard Law and Order"]

[Text] Developing an integrated system for preventing lawbreaking and determining legal policy in the Leningrad region was the aim of yesterday's coordinating conference of law enforcement organs. It was convened in connection with the unsatisfactory state of law and order on city and oblast streets.

The prevailing situation, as V.I. Bukatin, chief of the CPSU oblast committee [obkom] state and law department, noted in opening the conference, is to a considerable extent the result of complacency and self-satisfaction, uncritical assessments, and sometimes even pure professional standards on the part of law enforcement organs, the prosecutor's office, and the courts. It is long since they followed the tried and tested path of combatting the most widespread forms of lawbreaking. A certain radical and administrative practice arose in implementing punishments. The structure of crime has now changed.

Leningraders are seriously worried about the spread of robberies, bribery, and other criminal means of profiteering, as well as violence involving weapons in a number of places. The problems of fighting organized crime and corruption between criminals, economic managers, and even law enforcement staffers on a number of cases is becoming increasingly acute.

This increasingly grave situation has to be taken into account. The law enforcement organs' lack of a unified policy or mutual understanding in resolving the common tasks of fighting crime have been certainly reflected operationally. Lack of understanding of the changes taking place often leads to investigators rebuking the courts for taking a wrong position instead of analyzing the shortcomings in their own work. When investigating cases militia and prosecutor's office workers "weigh up" the possible outcome in court. If they do not feel confident, they remit the cases for the application of measures of public influence. Thus, almost 40 percent of cases are dropped at the preliminary investigation stage.

Prosecutors show a lack of resolve in using necessary steps such as arrests. For this reason alone more than 500 criminals escaped investigation and trial in the first 3 months of the year. The people's courts are now staffed by many young cadres. They have insufficient experience and are sometimes scared to make specific decisions on a case and to shoulder responsibility.

This is not the first time that the problems of the relationships among law enforcement organs have been raised. They have been discussed as a whole and separately at various levels. So why do our decisions and recommendations fail? That was the question asked at the conference by D.M. Vetrovkin, Leningrad prosecutor. We are not defining the main, priority avenues, he noted. Instead we are trying to solve everything at the same time and are seeing nothing through. It is impossible to control matters that are general and nonspecific.

I have also attended similar conferences. Unfortunately, yesterday's conference did not escape the general tendency for recommendations to be handed about by representatives of different departments supposed to ensure law and order. There were a particularly large number of complaints about liberal judicial practice prompted by the humanization of criminal legislation. They were convincingly refuted by V.I. Polishchuk, chairman of the city court. The courts of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast are the toughest in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic for sentencing, when it comes to prison sentences. Only 4-6 percent of cases are sent for further investigation. In the past 3 years only 0.3 percent of cases have resulted in acquittals. But should the prosecutors and the investigating team be held responsible for an acquittal?

The Leningrad lawyers' professional discussion finally moved in the necessary direction. An extensive joint resolution was adopted on the basis of the results of the conference. This will help lawyers to collaborate effectively with each other and with local soviets. Particular importance is attached to their coordinating role. It is to be hoped that this extensive consultation among leaders of law enforcement organs and the measures worked out by them will affect the actual crime situation in our city and oblast.

S.G. Petrov, secretary of the Leningrad CPSU City Committee; A.V. Kononov, deputy chairman of the Leningrad Oblast Soviet Executive Committee; and V.P. Rogozhin, deputy chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet Executive Committee, took part in the conference's work.

Lithuanian Bureau Analyzes Election Campaign

PM270510Z89 Vilnius *SOVETSKAYA LITVA* in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 1

[ELTA report: "Enlarged Session of Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau"]

[Text] The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau together with the first secretaries of party city committees [gorkoms] and raion committees [raykoms] and a group of leaders of the republic's ideological institutions examined a number of topical questions of party and social life.

Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, gave a report on the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum and described the problems which Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee secretaries and leaders of the government have been raising at the CPSU Central Committee and in other all-union institutions.

There was an exchange of opinions on the organizational independence of the Lithuanian Communist Party within the CPSU, the concept of the republic's economic sovereignty, the political and state evaluations of the events of 1939-1940 in Lithuania, and ways to honor the memory of the victims of the mass deportation from Lithuania which began on 14 June 1941 and other issues.

Vladimir Beresov, second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a report on the results of the campaign to elect USSR people's deputies. After keen discussions on this question the participants in the debate formed the opinion that the substantial democratization of state elections was yet another powerful impetus to intensifying the political self-awareness of the republic's inhabitants and had accelerated the pace of political life. The elections process really caught the public's attention.

Some 2.1 bn.000 people or 82.5 percent of the electorate took part in the polling on March 26. It was noted the results of the elections in the territorial and nationalterritorial okrugs demonstrate that the republic's party organizations were not satisfactorily prepared for an election campaign in the social and political situation created in Lithuania, that the effectiveness of political work was low, and that there was a lack of experience in taking appropriate action in the conditions of an election campaign and with active opposition. One factor which had a considerable effect on the election results was the widening gulf between the perceptible positive changes in people's spiritual lives and the negligible changes in the economic, social, and consumer sphere in the 4 years of restructuring, dissatisfaction at the shortage of a number of prime necessities, the increasing range of goods becoming scarce, the acceleration of inflationary processes, and disruptions in material and technical supply and production organization.

Another important example is provided by the shadow of moral guilt for the deformations of socialism during the years of Stalinism and stagnation which hung over many candidates. Publications and broadcasts of an extremely nihilistic nature by a section of the mass media formed a hostile public attitude to party and soviet organs and their apparatuses in the election context. For several months before the election campaign the public was given insufficient information on the truly intensive work of the leadership of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government in resolving topical economic and social problems.

An analysis of the election campaign shows that in its most important stages—the formation of okrug and ward commissions, the nomination of candidate deputies, and agitation on their behalf—a considerable proportion of party and executive committees and primary party organizations did not show the proper initiative, organization, coherence, or independence. The All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League and trade union activists and economic leaders did not provide sufficient help during the canvassing campaign. In view of the gradually intensifying process of democratization in the republic okrug pre-election meetings, which would have been able to limit the range of candidates, were essentially not held. The two meetings which were held fully confirmed their inexpediency at the present stage. Tasks in preparing for the forthcoming elections to the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet and local soviets were also discussed.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau also decided to convene a routine Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum on the topic "The Lithuanian Communist Party's agrarian policy," to be held 9 June.

Lithuanian Writer on Interethnic Friction

LD1005115089 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 7 Mar 89 pp 2, 3

[Article by writer Vytautas Radaitis, under the rubric "National Relations: Problems And Solutions": "Let Us Elucidate and Understand"]

[Excerpts] Perhaps ignorance and suppression are at the root of all discord.

The idea of internationalism is one of the basic principles of Communist Party activity, of the embodiment of its goals, and finally, of its very existence. The relinquishment or temporary exclusion of this idea from party ideological or practical activity leaves the party acting in the capacity of any other organ, but certainly not that of the Communist Party. This should be evident to each of its members, as any party member who has lost belief in this idea's vitality, should at any moment during the political struggle. A party member, who has lost belief in this idea's vitality, should feel obliged to examine the question of his own party membership.

I think in view of the current existence of open and unwitting(!) opposing ideas on internationalism and nationalism, it is necessary to elucidate not only the possible consequences of these opposing ideas, but also the preconditions allowing the emergence of the current situation. Even if someone were to attempt to smooth over the problems which have arisen in appearances and no matter how we are to try to appease ourselves by stating that the approaching CPSU Central Committee plenum will answer vital international relations questions and renew the foundations for further developing them along socialist lines, I think that without active efforts by every one of us and a desire **to elucidate and understand**, we will not, for a long time, be able to overcome not only the moods of irritability and misunderstanding, but we will also fail to attain the basic breakthrough in the sensitive area of relations among people.

For 10 years I have been the editor of what I might term our unique cultural publication—a Lithuanian literary journal in Russian, LITVA LITERATURNAYA. One of its basic goals was to attract the attention of those residents of Lithuania, who were of other cultures and nationalities, especially of Russians, to Lithuanian culture and literature. Frankly speaking, however, we were able to draw more attention outside the republic than from foreign nationality groups residing in Lithuania. Every year the editorial office took steps to increase its readership, but the situation failed to improve. Not a single Russian school had subscribed to the journal.

We used to ponder who was to blame since we were after all printing only the best of what was available in Lithuanian and classic material, which would help to acquaint an individual with Lithuanian history, cultural characteristics, etc. It appears I have found the answer by addressing my questions directly to individuals who could penetrate that wall of indifference. [passage omitted]

One of them, a republic education administrator, was genuinely surprised at my complaints that our journal was not reaching Russian schools and their teachers and students. He stated: "Of what use would a Lithuanian literary journal be to Russian schools?" [passage omitted]

This episode from our recent cultural past may be viewed as a reflection of the legitimization of the one-sided cultural interaction among nationalities which, although it was not based on documents and decisions, has nevertheless become the deciding factor in national estrangement and has supported the wall of separation. There ensued even an atmosphere of fear. A member of another nationality group, having failed to understand some phenomena of our history or culture, might even read into it an expression of nationalism or historical facts may bring associations with current times, etc. Was it not because of such exaggerated interdiction that the publication of satirical works by V. Kudirka was needlessly postponed for so many years, by useless discussions? How would a Russian or a Jew evaluate their countrymen's negative characteristics which sometimes become generalizations?

Tell me, though, will a modern member of another nationality group remain indifferent to those merciless satiric jabs if he fails to understand what historical circumstances have given rise to such negative views. Finally, how could nationalism of a small denationalized nation be explained and excused if its expressions are visible in an occasional literary publication of those times? And who after all decides the lasting worth of this work? Regrettable none of these: neither the historical roots of national oppression, its concrete expressions, the Lithuanian nation's struggle for freedom and the most dramatic period of time dedicated to the struggle and rebirth of a condemned nation were portrayed adequately in either Russian or Polish schools, or the press of other languages.

Today the "ideological situation" of the past decades is most frequently and without exception, portrayed as a period of suppression, falsification, selective commission and "internationalistic surrogates" which have undermined our national roots. At the risk of being misunderstood, I still dare to take exception with such generalized assertions. I will present one, but by no means an only example. In publishing the uncensored and even unedited issue of "Pragiedruliai" [Bright Moments], by Vaygantas A. Vyeychiva, in his foreword he commented on the negative traits of the book's foreign characters

literary parallels as follows. "There are undoubtedly characters observed in real life, not only by the author himself, but also by literary traditions." [passage omitted]

Here also, A. Vonclova, may even be the first in the study of our literature to cite the views, popular even today, of V. Lenin, "nationalism of the oppressing nation and nationalism of the oppressed nation, nationalism of a large nation and that of a tiny nation," concerning the absence of uniform meaning in these opposing forms of nationalism.

I have been convinced many times in the course of my life that **the higher an individual's level of personal life, the more easily and more attentively he accepts the characteristics of another nation's culture**; the more alien become past prejudices, existing suspicions and misunderstandings. Unfortunately we have not accomplished much to encourage this type of international culture level. By almost exclusively accentuating the "positive" historical experience from the earliest times to date, by suppressing the "negative" we have programmed for the future a lack of understanding among those of other nationalities as to why Lithuanians are so sensitive to historical memory and their language rights and ethnic structure problems. I think ignorance and misunderstanding are the basic source of national disagreements.

I recall my reaction in 1958, after reading a book by some Central Asian philologist or historian, who set out to prove that the Russian (cyrillic) alphabet was superior to the Latin. In a rather lengthy section of this publication Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians, were categorically exhorted to renounce the Latin alphabet and to cross over to "a higher cultural level." I was disturbed by the fact that such an ignorant and graphomaniac book, published under the auspices of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by the way, was presented, not only as a "theoretical," but also as a "practical" plan. And I brought it to the attention of then Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary V. Niunka, who in turn showed it to A. Snieckus, Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary. I do not know what the specific reaction to the book was, but I do recall the moral and emotional reaction. The book was described not only as "scientific" graphomania, but also as a work, characterized by ignorance and contempt of Lithuanian historical experience and its many years of struggle to preserve its writings and press.

Such nonsense comes into being when one nation or another and its cultural history are ignored, and one tries to impose upon it that which may reflect severe injury on its historical memory and sensitive national awareness. What happens when such "nonsense" becomes political practice is demonstrated, for instance, by the replacement of the Moldavian Latin alphabet with the Russian.

A fundamental error continued to be repeated during those years when the period of bourgeois rule in Lithuania was portrayed in a strictly negative fashion. It is difficult to affect the stereotyped views of members of other nationalities who came to our republic in the post-war period or later, which maintain, that supposedly until the advent of Soviet rule, Lithuania had been totally backward and that the 1940 reforms were begun in an area that was almost barren... This type of nonobjective appraisal of Lithuania's true condition, prior to Soviet rule, has also been carried over to the area of international relations.

During one discussion, A. Snieckus stated his categorical opposition to such a twisted evaluation of the yet not-too-distant past in literature as well as in everyday propaganda activities. He believed that in spite of the egotistical policy of the bourgeois government an intelligentsia was coming into existence in Lithuania that has accomplished a great deal in enhancing culture and literature and its organization and dissemination in education. The practice of socialism must be based on all that which has been created by the people and the progressive intelligentsia. Unfortunately, we did not support this correct assumption by either the study of history or by everyday educational activity.

In reading items in the Russian language press or publications which refer to pre-Soviet times, we encounter the emergence of a truly negative portrayal of the past that was responsible for giving people of other nationalities an impression of a dark, dreary, economically backward, illiterate and uncultured Lithuania. The suppression of facts from members of foreign nationalities, on how during those past years, Lithuania waged an incessant battle for democracy, which was indeed responsible for creating the possibility for maintaining the culture, language and schools of ethnic minorities, must have given an especially negative impression.

In the wake of the current realization of the lack of international relations culture, we must reexamine all the aspects of these relations and their structure, encouraging total awareness of other nationalities' cultures. For many years, we were content with pleasant statements informing us that representatives of many nationalities at work in some cooperative or another were getting along so well. However, restructuring has resulted in a re-evaluation of social relations and it has suddenly been revealed that international relations are affected not just by cooperation at work or by living "alongside one another," but by the conscious and careful development of unbiased historical and cultural cognition based on informal educational activity in schools, culture institutes, the media, etc. The distrust, which currently offends the eye in some nations with single or entire groups of individuals, is to blame for giving rise to our own doubts toward one another's cultural world, historical experience and, I would venture even to national character traits and singularities.

I have never felt in agreement, nor will I ever agree with the now popularized concepts of national cultural egocentrism which, by the way, are not original, but brought back from the past. I also can not agree with categorical assertions that during the last decades our culture was emaciated and that nothing of lasting value has been created etc. No matter who says that, **Lithuanian culture has fractured the shell of reticence present during the years of Soviet rule**. An even greater culture looms ever to be preserved parenically.

If we are to discuss the preservation of our past treasures we must then look over the multitude of our classic publications, "Lithuanian Library" volumes and folklore collections. Then if we are to be objective we would have to admit that in spite of various gaps and imperfections, everything that is most precious in our past now has been assembled, repeated and consolidated. That which had been scattered earlier and had been left outside cultural our boundaries, has also been collected. Let us, therefore, not belittle our accomplishments in our own eyes, as well as before the eyes of members of other nationalities. One can only marvel at our lack of attentiveness and circumspectness in our manner of preserving this unique wealth of international proportions before other nationalities.

This currently painful problem contains of course its other "official" side. The strictly centralized, controlled and corrected international relations program by organs outside the republic's boundaries, has implemented more of a parade-like view toward historical and cultural characteristics of nationalities. Thus, this superficial "holiday" tone was uppermost on the Russian press published in the republic. Even though they had worked in our republic for decades, its editors were unfamiliar with Lithuanian history and culture. I can attest from my own experience to the fact that the people tasked with propagandizing Lithuanian culture among speakers of other languages, did not feel disposed to learn Lithuanian themselves. This is how it was although one must admit there were some nice exceptions to be found here and there. Some were determined by their individual high cultural level which can not be altered by any forced or obligatory means.

The announcement of the Lithuanian language law which makes Lithuanian a state language and the decree governing its use were somewhat of a shock wave across speakers of other languages in our republic. This was not due to the fact that this was "abnormal" or even "amoral" as it was called by some, but because individuals who are duty bound to be more attentive to the Lithuanian language as a means of interaction, and to learn it at least on an elementary level, were not thoroughly convinced that this order was a necessity. When such a legally bending act is injected into all international relations, as they are being re-examined, which is a far cry from being everywhere and being always consistent and moderate, it may result in a massive confrontation complicating an already complex situation even further.

I do not think it would be correct to view the Lithuanian language announcement, the renewal of national symbolism, the increase of attention to national history or other phenomena, dictated by the times, as an action of "self-defense." It is a normal phenomenon induced and legitimized by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and it characterizes not only Lithuania and the Baltics. It does not, by the way, oppose in any way the Leninist principles of nationalism and internationalism.

It becomes a different matter in instances where, while occupying a "self-defense position," one sees Russification tendencies in places where they really do not exist, thus transgressing or denying norms for relations among Soviet nationalities and allowing the opposition between "monsters and majority" to come into play. This contributes to the hope that an act of national rebirth or similar acts will provide assistance in ridding oneself of "migrants," "occupiers," etc. There are those who refer to such excesses as "nationalism" but in truth that constitutes nationalism in its truest form. The Lithuanian language has been legalized as a state language, not in order to make people of other nationalities feel like strangers in Lithuania, but to give a new impetus to the Lithuanian language and culture which is being created by its use.

Currently this is being sought by people of other nations, including the Russians, who care about their language and culture.

Naturally, movements for a renaissance of the native tongue contain not only a linguistic, culture-oriented meaning. Today it also constitutes a political and social renewal of the public. It is especially important at this time for all nationalities to become democratically and voluntarily involved in supporting each other's efforts to strive for renewal on all aspects, including the national aspect.

Agrarian Union Established in Estonia

LD1005172489 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Tallinn May 11 TASS—An agrarian union has been set up in the Soviet Baltic Republic of Estonia. The aim of the new public organization is to pool the efforts of farmers for resolving social and economic problems and enhancing agricultural production in Estonia. The decision to establish the Agrarian union was taken at a recent congress of collective and state farmers, representatives of trade organizations, processing industries and the republic's agricultural managers.

The congress elected the leadership of the union and adopted the rules. The rules include, among others, an active involvement of the organization in working out decisions concerning the development of the agrarian sector of the republic's economy and the defense of

farmers' interests. The rules also stipulate the opportunity for the agrarian union to nominate its candidates in elections to local councils and to Estonia's supreme soviet (parliament).

"The emergence of many farmstead-holders, leaseholders, and small cooperatives requires that the interests of all forms of production organization be taken into account at the March plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee pointed out. This, in my opinion, is just what the agrarian union must do," Enno Pinks, chairman of the Karksu collective farm who is also head of the Estonian Collective Farm Council, told TASS.

Armenians Demand Closure of Mining Combine

SU [2055]0000 Foreign Domestic Service in American 1600 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] The phones at the editor's office rang continuously today. The radio listeners were inquiring about the situation in the Alaverdiskiy Mining and Metallurgical Combine, about the conditions of the patients who were poisoned by noxious gases on 7 May, and whether the special commission of the USSR Nonferrous Metallurgy Ministry has made any decisions on the issue. In order to get answers to such questions our commentator Sergey Yeritsyan, phoned Alaverdi [word indistinct] and listened to the questions.

[Begin Sergey Yeritsyan recording] First, about the poisoned persons. The local hospital informed us that basically the patients are in satisfactory condition; there is no serious danger to anyone's health. Twenty of them have been discharged; the rest are undergoing medical treatment. The head doctor, [first name indistinct] Stepanyan, said that the dramatic days show that we are paying the price for past mistakes. All of our medical personnel are demanding the undelayed closure of the Alaverdiskiy Mining and Metallurgical Combine. That would be the sole assurance against the recurrence of such incidents. As we already reported, the combine is temporarily inoperative.

Another problem which perturbs many people is whether to call those responsible for the situation to account. An official of the Tumanyanskiy Rayon Party Committee [raykom], Gurnek [last name indistinct], said that the responsibility for the incident must, above all, fall on the leadership of the combine under its director, Norayr Sarkisyan. Let me add that the local prosecutor's office has instituted criminal charges. It is also important to mention that yesterday the council of the labor collectives of the Alaverdiskiy Mining and Metallurgical Combine held a meeting and with a majority vote it decided to close down the combine without further delay. Now, the last word rests with the commission of the USSR Nonferrous Metallurgy Ministry.

The opponents of the combine's closure put forward the argument that there is no way to find new jobs for the workers. The first secretary of the Tumanyanskiy raykom, Ogannes Kochinyan, said that we could create opportunities and employ all those who would become redundant after the combine's closure; that is not an unsolvable problem which could impede the closure of the combine.

This demand to live free of poisons is made not only by the labor collectives there but by the entire population of Alaverdi City and Tumanyanskiy Rayon. A group of deputies has asked the Alaverdi City soviet to convene an extraordinary meeting to discuss the present situation. The hunger strike by a number of Alaverdi's residents is continuing; their number has reached 11. Not only they, but the entire population of the republic are awaiting for a just, decisive, and final decision—based on the assessment of the present situation and on people's concerns—from the commission of the USSR Metallurgy Ministry. This decision should be to quickly end the operation of the Alaverdiskiy Mining and Metallurgical Combine. [end recording]

New Armenian Justice Minister Appointed

SU [2055]2100 Foreign Domestic Service in Armenian 0427 GMT 17 May 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The paper has published two decrees by the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium. One of them says that the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium has decided to appoint Armen Georgiyevich Ashotyan as justice minister of Soviet Armenia. Also by decree of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, Gurgen Arsheneevich Kharakhetsyan has been appointed the chairman of the State Committee for Services to the Population of Soviet Armenia. [title as heard]

New Health Minister Appointed in Armenia

SU [2055]0000 Foreign Domestic Service in Armenian 0427 GMT 17 May 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] On page 2 of the paper a decree of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium is published on the appointment of Arshaluys Artsruniyan as the Armenian SSR health minister and on the discharge of Emil Gabrielyan from this post. A biography of Arshaluys Artsruniyan has also been published.

Ryzhkov, Others Sign Statistics Official's Obituary

PM170533790 Moscow *PRAVDA* in Russian
14 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Obituary of Lev Mordkovich Volodarskiy]

[Excerpts] Lev Mordkovich Volodarskiy, individual talent, pensioner and former chief of the USSR Central Statistical Administration, died 11 May 1989 in the 79th year. [passage omitted]

[signed] N.I. Ryzhkov, V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, V.A. Medvedev, N.N. Slyunkov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, G.P. Razumovskiy, Yu.F. Solovyev, N.V. Talyzin, V.I. Shcherbakov, V.P. Moiseyev, L.A. Voronin, N.V. Garbuzov, G.I. Gladkiy, B.I. Gostev, M.A. Kornilov, V.A. Pavlov, M.S. Smirtyukov, N.G. Belov, V.I. Gostev, A.V. Nazarov, I.A. Pogosov, B.K.D. Saakyan, P.T. Gushchin, G.D. Boryakov.

Leaders Sign Composer Vampilov's Obituary

PM170540589 Moscow *SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA* in Russian 19 May 89 First Edition p 4

[Obituary of B.B. Vampilov]

[Excerpts] Soviet musical art has suffered a great loss. Composer Baasheevtha Bazarovich Vampilov, one of the founders of Buryat professional music, a prominent representative of our multiethnic culture, and USSR people's artist, has died, aged 72.

B.B. Vampilov was born 11 September 1916 in Buriat-Ulan, Kizhinginskiy Aymag, Buryat Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, into a poor peasant family. [passage omitted]

[signed] V.I. Vorotnikov, V.A. Medvedev, A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, A.S. Kapto, V.G. Zakharov, A.Ya. Degtyarev, N.K. Arkhipova, Zh.A. Batsev, A.N. Belyaev, A.M. Belyaev, S.N. Bulgakov, V.K. Grigoriy, Z.G. Ismagilov, M.M. Kazhdayev, V.I. Kazmin, Yu.N. Meleshyev, A.N. Pakhomutov, A.P. Petrov, K.S. Khachaturyan, A.N. Khokhlunov, T.N. Khrennikov, D.T. Tsereteliev, V.M. Chelkharov, K.K. Shumskiy, R.K. Shchedrin, A.Ya. Eshpay, M.Z. Yavalov.

Letter Criticizes Exit Visa 'Anachronism'

PM170535589 Moscow *IZVESTIYA* in Russian 17 May 89 Morning Edition p6

[Letter from G. Lisitsyn in Minsk under the rubric "Letters — Not For Print": "Traveling Without a Visa" followed by editorial comment]

[Text] Our entry and exit rules are no longer regulated by a law but by an act of executive authority, a USSR Council of Ministers resolution. Numerous departmental acts are also in effect which, as far as I am aware, have never been published. I believe that the regulation of legal relations affecting citizens' individual rights should be implemented only at the level of the highest body of state authority and most definitely in the form of a law. It should be full, clear, and generally accessible, and all existing subordinate legislation should be abolished.

In my view, the most important thing is to abolish the existing procedure of authorizing exit from the country. There should be no exit visas. They are an anachronism. The only document giving someone the right to go abroad should be a general citizen's foreign passport.

The right to leave one's country without impediment, proclaimed in Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, must not be restricted by any provision, with the exception of those cases where there is a real threat to state security. It goes without saying that an exhaustive list of the circumstances preventing a Soviet citizen from traveling abroad must be incorporated in the text of the law. It is also essential to ensure that there is a legal procedure for appealing against a groundless refusal to issue a foreign passport.

At present, an invitation is a mandatory condition of private travel abroad. But what about those people who do not have relatives or acquaintances in other countries? What about those people who simply want to visit a museum, do some work in libraries, and get to know about the life, traditions, and customs of other peoples? The present situation does not recognize such motives as "valid reasons" giving someone the right to leave the country. Vague wording creates the possibility of administrative tyranny and infringement of individual rights. The reasons for wanting to leave the country are the citizen's private business. The practice of individual tourists without invitations is widespread throughout the world. It is time we followed this example.

From the Editor: Comparing the current procedure of registering foreign travel with the procedure that existed 20 years ago, one can see how much has been done in this time to simplify the procedure connected with traveling abroad. Many of the formalities which prevented international tourism and contact with relatives living abroad have been removed. Now, with our country's signing of the Final Documents of the Vienna meeting, this process will develop even more vigorously. At the same time, we should also be aware that the problem of broadening international contacts is not so simple. It will take some time and considerable effort to resolve. We think that the observations made by the author of this letter and others sent to IZVESTIYA will help to find the optimum solution.

Chemical Weapons Destruction Plant Row Deadlocked

PM170533790 Moscow *IZVESTIYA* in Russian 14 May 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent N. Zhigalov: "Contested Report — A Zone Polluted by ... Rumors"]

[Text] Chapayevsk-Kuybyshev.— The declassification of the Chapayevsk plant for the destruction of chemical weapons has recently been progressing not by the day but literally by the hour.

Nowadays journalists with their notebooks and even television cameras are welcome visitors to the shops where toxic substances will be treated out of existence in the near future. The hosts now do not conceal even a single cycle of these productions process, the first such in the world. This will be the storage site for shells and aviation bombs with detonation devices already removed, which will be delivered here by railroad. Holes will be drilled in them, their gas contents will be removed, and the shells' steel casings will be fired in electric furnaces and cut up for scrap.

The rumors and monstrous conjectures which spread thick and fast around the mysterious Defense Ministry project eventually evolved into a protest by the inhabitants of nearby towns against the commissioning of the plant for the destruction of toxic substances. People in their thousands signed a letter to the government.

Members of a government commission which arrived from Moscow spent almost 5 hours in dialogue with the residents of Chapayevsk, trying to convince them of the plant's total safety. To no avail! Who had actually proposed that the plant be built in a densely populated region, 12 km outside Chapayevsk and close to the Volga? Was there an expert ecological study of the project, who had conducted it, and when? Why was the plant built without coordination with the local authorities and the city's residents? Were there any major objections at the stage when the project was being elaborated, and how were they overcome?

People's right to know the answers to these and many other questions associated with safety can in no way be described as selfish group interests. The causes of such a powerful protest against the plant cannot be appreciated without an understanding of the ecological situation in the city as a whole. Today's Chapayevsk is the oblast's "dirtiest" city in terms of sulfur dioxide concentration, while some days the hydrochloric acid content in the atmosphere is many times greater than all tolerable norms. As "gassing times" this is how people here describe the salvo discharges of harmful substances by enterprises surrounding the city. Kindergarten outings are cancelled and people complain of poor health.

Over the last 4 years, the city has been shaken on three occasions by powerful explosions at acid production units. The shock waves broke windows and doors in citizens' apartments. There was loss of life at the production units themselves. And on each occasion, the funeral orchestras were followed by ministry representatives' assurances: "Well, enhanced ... will tighten up ... will improve ..."

The spontaneous protest by Chapayevsk's residents took the form of the "Initiative" ecological movement, which was legitimized by the city soviet executive committee. Its members include teachers, journalists, workers, engineers, and pensioners. The first action undertaken by "Initiative" was to fight to get the acid production units moved outside the city limits and the construction of the plant for the destruction of toxic substances frozen.

I took advantage of an invitation and traveled there on the eve of a protest meeting against the plant's construction. Major A. Borkin, who accompanied me on a tour of the shops, is already settled in on the plant's housing development with his family—wife, two children, mother-in-law.

"If I had even the slightest doubt about the plant's safety, would I have brought my children here?" Aleksandr Filomonovich said. "My knowledge of the devastating effect of these substances is not secondhand. I am a chemical engineer myself."

"We are prepared to discuss any constructive proposals from the public," Colonel V. Solovyev, chief of the plant under construction, asserted. "Here you are; we have even drafted an address to the meeting participants. But the city does not want to even listen to us. You'll see for yourself tomorrow."

Contradictory thoughts crossed my mind at the meeting, where we spent several hours among a sea of indignant people. The meeting participants listened attentively to all who spoke against the plant, but as soon as someone raised his voice in defense of the enterprise, he was booed off the platform. The meeting participants would not "hear out" the address which V. Solovyev had mentioned the day before. A pity. It did contain proposals which were worthwhile hearing.

It said that the Ministry of Defense backs the proposal by local authorities and the public to set up an independent commission to carry out an expert ecological study. It is prepared to guarantee the commission members' access to all documents, blueprints, conclusions based on these materials, and the plant's facilities and equipment. And to include representatives of the "Initiative" movement on the state commission for the plant's acceptance for commissioning and pass on to the Chapayevsk sanitation and epidemiology station the methodology for analysis of toxic substances.

Is this way of discussing constructive proposals not the first step on the way out of the deadlock? After all, one of the "Initiative" demands is in fact for an independent, extradepartmental, expert ecological study of the plant.

Academician Examines Legal Guarantees of Freedoms

PM280905Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 May 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Academician V. Kudryavtsev, USSR people's deputy: "Legal Limits on Freedom: Reflections Before the Congress of People's Deputies"]

[Text] **"Society cannot set itself free unless it sets every individual free," Engels asserted. This idea was abhorrent to the administrative order system, whose essence is comprehensive regulation of all actions and behavior, and preferably also of the way of thinking.**

Restrictions on hiring and dismissal, regulation of residence permits, endless prohibitions in agricultural production, trade, and other transactions between citizens, obstacles to the creation of societies and leagues and to the exercise of freedom of speech and press freedom—all this unfortunately was part of our life's daily practice for decades on end. Administrative restrictions were backed by slogans and propaganda declarations totally divorced from reality. And philosophical literature more often than not used just one of the entire multiplicity of definitions of freedom: "Freedom is an acknowledged necessity."

True enough, it is impossible to act freely without being aware of the objective course of things and without taking natural laws into account. The essence of freedom lies in the opportunity to make a choice and the right to act according to one's own will without coercion. This is indeed the meaning and value of freedom as the basis of democracy and glasnost, a necessary condition for the socialist society's very existence. We still have to fully emancipate the individual, to lift all letters and restrictions hindering people's economic, social, political and spiritual activeness, and to restructure our own mentality so that freedom can be perceived not as a gift from someone or an accidental blessing but as the natural state of any human personality.

The decades of dominance by the administrative-edict system ended in the almost total demolition of the old ideological stereotypes and practical methods for manipulating people's behavior. The turnabout in the direction of a rule-of-law state, even though it is only just beginning, has nonetheless already proved clearly that edict methods for solving social problems are absolutely unacceptable and repressive methods even less so, and that there must be no return to them. But the new, civilized, and de facto habits of state and social management, and even more so of self-management, are yet to be acquired. The administrative apparatus is the same as before, and some of its habits are also the same as before. We still experience a serious shortage of freedom and are dependent on too many other people and instructions. And yet society is no longer the same, restructuring is progressing not only from the top down but also and increasingly actively from the bottom up. Under these conditions interpersonal relations along both "horizontal" and "vertical" lines demand great attention and fundamentally new legal regulations.

Paramount importance in this regard has been attached to the proclamation of the formula "Everything that is not prohibited is permitted." It concentrated the legal expression of the freedom of man's behavior in a democratic society. It must be admitted, however, that, despite the 19th party conference decisions, this formula still exists only on paper. After all, we still have—just as before—a vast number of departmental instructions prescribing what is to be done by collective farm members, lessees, market traders, cooperative members, economic managers, team leaders, teachers, plant directors—this list can go on and on. The framework of the freedom of behavior of these and many other people is constrained on two sides, by that which is prohibited and by that which is prescribed.

It is necessary to introduce clarity as regards those to whom this formula applies. After all, if "everything is permitted" also for state and party apparatus officials, let alone the representatives of power or militia or internal troops personnel, then this democratically conceived principle could easily turn into its opposite. Unfortunately, instances of this are no rare occurrence. It is obvious that the formula for the behavior of organs of power and officials ought to be completely different. They are permitted to do that, and only that, which falls within their powers and is directly prescribed by law. And this law must be the product of broad, open (glasnost), and democratic discussion.

As regards citizens, relying on the fact that now it is said "everything is permitted" is not sufficient for the real exercise of all their rights and legitimate interests. Actually, this also requires guarantees—economic, social and legal. In the past, propaganda cards resolved this question by proclaiming that all rights and freedoms of our citizens are guaranteed by the very essence of the socialist system. At the same time, there were no specific legal mechanisms to guarantee and protect many rights and freedoms. To all intents and purposes they are still lacking to this day. It is well known that laws on glasnost in the press and other mass media, on public organizations, on freedom of movement, on freedom of conscience, and on strikers have yet to be adopted. And yet each one of these acts will raise matters concerning the rights and legitimate interests of citizens and collectives and consequently the limits of their social, political and spiritual freedom. This is obviously by no means the least reason why the preparation of the aforementioned documents is taking so long, and why there are such acute arguments around their content.

The task of the new Supreme Soviet—as I perceive it—is to give a profoundly democratic content to all these acts and to lift all false and artificial barriers blocking the path to the complete liberation of the individual. On the basis of the Vienna meeting's documents it is necessary to elaborate a whole series of new legislative acts on human rights which would be in line with generally accepted international standards. It is necessary, in particular to modernize our housing, labor, pension, and corrective labor legislation. It is intended to prepare laws on young people, on children's rights, on the rights of citizens belonging to smaller peoples without their own statehood, and a number of others.

The implementation of this extensive political and legal program will occur under complex conditions. After all, having demolished the administrative-edict system and abolished the multiplicity of past prohibitions, we have not yet created a new legal system befitting a socialist rule-of-law state. In the meantime it has not only been positive processes that have developed, undesirable

forms of behavior have emerged and at times have even became widespread, bringing out onto the open the worst manifestations of human nature.

A foreign writer during a recent visit to Moscow remarked: You have opened wide the gates to freedom. Do not forget, however, that freedom takes many forms and that you have opened the gates not only to enthusiasm, to the masses' creativity, and to socialist pluralism of opinions, but also to selfish and petty bourgeois attitudes, deception, and maybe even violence....

How is this warning to be taken? Philosophers and jurists in past ages held that one man's freedom ends where another's freedom begins. They also offered another formulation of their "categorical imperative": Treat others the way you would like them to treat you. Both expressions put forward a clear idea. First, freedom is not unlimited but has (must have!) limits; second, these limits are determined by other people's rights and legitimate interests; third, if you trample someone else's freedom, don't expect to be treated differently....

A contemporary document—the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)—says: "In the exercise of his rights and freedoms everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law only for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others, and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order, and the general welfare in a democratic society."

These stipulations may appear abstract and even scholastic. But this is not so. We perceive behind them logical contradictions in economic, social, and spiritual development and an acute struggle between vitally important interests. The problem of freedom and its limits has been acquiring growing political importance in our society recently. This is perfectly understandable. Social activeness has grown colossally, while legal forms have either remained the same in many respects or are altogether absent. The vacuum must be filled not by limiting freedom but by preventing any infringement of it. But this is where, bluntly speaking, our legislative practice has in the last few years failed to rise to the occasion. It has been characterized by periodical wavering between the expansion and curtailment of citizens' and organizations' rights, between encouragement and punishment, between clear-cut formulations of legal norms and vague declarative statements.

In some cases it was indeed not easy to arrive at the best possible combination of permission and prohibition—experience and time were required. This is what happened, for example, with the legislation on the cooperative movement, whose rights and economic potential were first curtailed, then expanded, and then curtailed again. Evidently it will take quite a few more tomes of legislation before the limits of the economic freedom of labor collectives, organizations, and citizens are defined with perfect clarity and unambiguity, and the guarantees of this freedom are reliably backed up by economic and legal means.

The situation with citizens' political rights and freedoms is more serious and brooks no delay. After all, we have "inherited" virtually no positive material in this sphere from the former administrative-edict system. It was held that there could be no "spontaneous" rallies and demonstrations, strikes, people's movements, and informal public organizations in the country. Therefore, it was said, there is no need at all for any laws on this account—apart, perhaps, from the Criminal Code. But when all these phenomena started emerging, the legislative response to them proved not altogether appropriate and largely contradictory. Consequently, shortcomings in the Law on the Procedure for Holding Rallies and Demonstrations, for example, were a contributing factor to a series of excesses whose development could well have been avoided. As for the decree of 8 April this year, which introduced the unfortunate term "discrediting," it was perceived as a limitation on the freedom of speech and infringement of the constitutional right to criticism, even though its fundamental objective was different: to replace the essentially unlimited Article 70 of the Criminal Code (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda) with a fairly narrow and restrained formulation ("public calls to overthrow the system"). The new USSR Supreme Soviet will have to amend all this, bearing in mind that citizens' constitutional rights and freedoms cannot be subject to any amendment and even less so in the direction of curtailing rights or weakening the guarantees for their exercise.

When defining the moral and legal limits of freedom it is altogether impossible to ignore the dispositions of socio-political forces and the differences and contradictions in economic, social, and other interests. Do all these contradictions boil down to struggle between progressive and conservative strata of society, between champions and adversaries of restructuring? I think that this explanation is only partially correct—the real picture is much more complex.

Let us first ask ourselves: Does our contemporary society contain social groups which have no interest at all in the establishment of a stable social order, in the protection of citizens, public institutions, and state organs from excesses? If it does, then are there reasons "doubly" and criminals on the one hand, and handfuls of persons with extremist, including nationalist, leanings on the other. They do not belong even to the conservative forces which are skeptical about current events. They are simply outside restructuring.

Let us now look in detail at those who constitute the main forces in contemporary life. What are their political and legal positions on the question under examination? Can it be said that the champions of restructuring are interested only and exclusively in the abolition of all

restrictions, regardless of the sphere of life to which they apply, while its adversaries are interested in the opposite, in other words in the expansion of all possible prohibitions? I think that this is not at all so. In reality both of them—an, more precisely, the broadest strata of the population—feel a growing need to strengthen organization and order and to ensure the stability and reliability of the conditions of our daily life and protection from economic disorders, violence, deception, and denigration of human dignity. This is a natural phenomenon of the processes of democratization and the growth of people's political and moral awareness. Personal freedom must be reliably protected from any criminal infringements, be it violence or theft, insult or extortion. It should be equally protected against administrative arbitrariness and uncontrollable interference by the authorities. Nobody in our society can be satisfied with the rape of the environment or the destruction of cultural monuments. War, violence, and terrorism are dangerous for all.

This is why calls to strengthen discipline and order can be heard from both sides, from the enthusiastic supporters of the new course and from those who can hardly be described as champions of restructuring. It is a peculiar feature of the situation that the watershed between them is not automatically determined by the desire for order but occurs **within** this position and depends on the methods the two sides intend to use to attain this goal. And even the meaning of "order" is different, not to say diametrically opposed, generally speaking. The choice is sufficiently clear: either to build a socialist rule-of-law state or to revert to the administrative-edict system. Of course, the latter is usually not spelled out, even though the expression used is perhaps even more explicit: "A strong hand is needed." This is, as we all know, means. Laws can be set aside.

I would make so bold as to assert that juridical departments, including those which prepare draft laws, are still not fully aware of these alternatives and the associated dangers: that the process of democratization ought to be universal, and that there ought be backsliding into past breaches of legality resulting in the halting of the restructuring processes. Otherwise there would be no reason to adopt behind closed doors normative acts on questions which presuppose broad and open (glasnost) discussion; we would there be any attempts at the broad interpretation of laws by the Supreme Court which has been given no such powers by the USSR Constitution (the latest example is that of repairing pocket lines with demonstrations). It is especially meaningful that here and there we have instances of trials arranged in accordance with the methods which, one would have thought, had been forever condemned by our society: breaches of the procedural norms of preliminary investigation, forced self-accusation, and extension of the term of detention of accused persons under guard.

It has been known for a long time that a just cause cannot be defended by illegal means. In order to punish the criminal and protect the honest citizen it is primarily necessary to establish who is really guilty. This is precisely why we have investigations, courts, and personal procedural guarantees. How often do we have to admit, in order to intensify the struggle against crime, that it is necessary not to weaken these law-stipulated guarantees but to enhance the professional skills and knowledge of militia, prosecutor's office, and court staffers and their responsibility for their work, not to leave crimes and other breaches of law unpunished, but to reveal their causes? How often do we have to assert that fair justice is the cornerstone of the state? How often do we have to reiterate reminders that Marx described the rule of law as "the bible of the people's freedom"? Many more efforts will evidently have to be applied to ensure that these truths gain the force of inner conviction.

They must also be organizationally consolidated. Someone who is suspected of having committed a crime is inadequately protected against slander, false accusations, and illegal actions by an unscrupulous investigator. One of the elementary norms of civilized justice is an attorney's participation in the preliminary investigation from the moment the suspect is detained (arrested). In many countries a person who is arrested has the right to appeal against the measure of curtailment of liberty applied against him. Measures like this consolidate the monitoring of investigators and protect their (their) citizens and farmers. They must also be adopted in our country—and as soon as possible, at that.

Socialist society, just like any other society, is not immune to disorders, contradictions, crimes, and conflicts. But if the law clearly defines reasonable legal limits to human behavior, if democratic procedures for solving any emerging conflicts are created and strictly observed, then a conflict which might have fatal or costly penalties will be halted and contained by peaceful and legitimate means, without hill, rifle, and iron gas. It is even more important to prevent, identify, and eliminate the causes of an incipient conflict. The 1990 Central Committee April Plenum correctly noted: If the people are striking and meetings, if they can resort rallies, demonstrations, and strikes, this means that there are specific objective or subjective reasons behind it all, and these reasons cannot be eliminated by only persuasion or the use of force. This requires social, political, and economic means, and also a profound knowledge of people's genuine interests.

The further course of restructuring is most closely connected with the democratization of relations between people, a broader framework of freedom, and strengthened guarantees of the creation and protection of freedom. Freedom is not just an element of restructuring but also a necessary condition for successful development. Great expectations in this regard are associated with the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the standing Supreme Soviet and Constitutional Oversight Committee. It is due to them. They will have to fulfi-

implement the political and legal reform and solve a number of complex questions of our life. They will also have to correct many past mistakes.

Let me again recall F. Engels. He wrote: "Every revolution inevitably commits a multiplicity of stupidities, just as at any other time; and when people finally calm down to the point where they are again capable of criticism, they invariably conclude: We did too much of what we should not have done and did not do much that we should have done." Let us hope that the lessons of past years will not be wasted on us.

Paper 'Bemused' by Criticism of POW Story

PM1705103589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 89 p 6

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA "Propaganda and Military-Patriotic Education Department" "Keynote" "Allow Us To Clarify"]

[Text] KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on 6 May published a letter from Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, criticizing our publication "Is This True?" (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 2 March 1989). The article in question discussed a public statement by Academician Sakharov that Soviet helicopter pilots in Afghanistan allegedly opened fire on our own soldiers in order to prevent them from being taken prisoner. Our correspondent telephoned the academician at the time, but was unable to establish on what the statement was based. A.D. Sakharov also did not quote any specific sources. At the same time, the newspaper approached S.F. Akhromeyev, who categorically said that no such thing had happened in Afghanistan.

So what provoked the marshal's displeasure? We quote: "In KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA prefaced the statement by Academician Sakharov and my own statement with the headline 'Is This True?' A cast doubt on both statements on this issue. More than 2 months have passed since then. I have asked KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA to make it clear which one of us is lying—Akhromeyev or Sakharov. My attempts to get an answer have been to no avail. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA is silent. That, apparently, is why the marshal sent a letter to the military newspaper."

S.F. Akhromeyev's letter has made us feel slightly bemused. The editorial office asked the academician and the marshal one and the same question: "Is this true?" It asked A.D. Sakharov to confirm that he had indeed made such a statement. And it asked S.F. Akhromeyev to give his opinion on the subject. That is all. How could anyone possibly continue to read so much into such clear, simple words?

We also advise you to read the selection of letters in our newspaper (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 7 April 1989), which the marshal or his assistants evidently overlooked. Readers went deep into the question of who is right and who is wrong. And what is interesting is that no one read our oppressive headline in the way that S.F. Akhromeyev did.

Tanker Collides with Ship; Oil Spills to Volga

LD1805043489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0400 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 18 May (TASS)—About a ton of oil spilled into the Volga following a collision yesterday involving a tanker and a diesel-electric ship near the town of Balakovo, reported SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA today. The reasons for the collision will be clarified by a specially created commission. In its view, the tanker's crew acted efficiently. A wheel to the side of the tanker was patched up quickly, which helped avert further spillage of oil products into the water.

Official Says Salt Shortage Rumors Unfounded

PM1705104489 Moscow ZVYEZDA in Russian 17 May 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with V. Zharov, deputy chairman of Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, by V. Belikov under the rubric "Rumors and Facts": "How the 'Shortage' is Breaking the Chain"; no date or place of interview given]

[Text] Consumer demand for cooking salt, said V. Zharov, deputy chairman of Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee [gorispolkom], soared last Saturday. In some city stores it increased almost 15-fold—people sometimes bought 15-kilogram packets of salt. Why?

[Belikov] There was a rumor that it will disappear from the stores.

[Zharov] Moscow could last a month's supply of this condiment. In 2-3 days stores will arrive in the capital loaded with extra supplies of salt which we have asked our regular suppliers to send, particularly from Astrakhan and in the Ukraine.

We do have salt today. V. Zharov continued, and people can get plenty of it. But such disruptions do not take place painlessly for the normal supply of a city with a population of 9 million and with 3 million visitors every day.

For example, many vehicle transportations is essential in order to transport the additional tonnes of the "shortage" which suddenly arose. It has to be diverted from transporting some other useful planned goods. Disruptions have begun in the factories as queues of people at counters formed on machines. Specialized shops and stalls are not coping with the packaging of large shipments of products. The entire chain—suppliers-wholesale depots-retail customers—is beginning to "sweat" and snap from excessive stress.

[Belskov] In conclusion, what can you say about the possibility of introducing in Moscow the rationing of other foodstuffs, in addition to sugar?

[Zharov] No plans on that score have been examined at Moscow Gorispolkom. I shall take the opportunity to remind Muscovites of the need to buy sugar evenly throughout the month. They should not put off buying till the last days before the coupons' expiry date. So far, according to available information, only one-third of them have been redeemed in Moscow. Why cause more [illegible]?

Economy

Lithuanian Bank Official Explains New Practices

[Z0705130889 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 7 Mar 89 p 2]

[Interview with M. Zybov, deputy chief Lithuanian Savings Bank Administration, by TIESA correspondent Zoya Soulieva: "To the Point—A Checkbook" date and place of interview not given; two paragraph introduction]

[Text] The editorial office received letters from people who express interest in our bank operations and new banking features. TIESA correspondent Zoya Soulieva discussed this with M. Zybov, deputy chief Lithuanian Savings Bank Administration.

[Soulieva] TIESA readers have noted: savings bank offices have not been accepting money deposits into consolidated savings account books. What happened? It had been so convenient, after all, to use this type of savings book because this enabled one to withdraw a sum of money from any Lithuanian Savings Bank office.

[Zybov] True. It has been decided until 1 Jan 1990 not to accept this type of deposit any longer and to refund the money to depositors. Here is the reason for the decision—consolidated savings books are convenient only within Lithuania, while money can not be paid out outside its boundaries. This of course diminishes the significance of this service.

[Soulieva] Is there a bank book available which would permit me to deposit my money, let's say, in Lazdijai Rayon and withdraw it in Druskginkai or vice versa?

[Zybov] No, there is none; however, we offer an accreditation service. In presenting proof of accreditation, one may withdraw funds from any savings bank branch in the country. Such accreditation remains valid for a 4-month period.

[Soulieva] TIESA reader M. Jurgelis from Utena, in Lazdijai Rayon would like to find out what we are offering in place of the consolidated bank book.

[Zybov] The savings bank offers the population an array of 17 services. Depositors may hold deposits until request for current accounting is made, for which we pay our customers a 2 percent interest per annum, which is added to their savings books. In keeping your funds on a fixed account, one will realize a 3 percent annual interest. For instance, a R10,000 savings yields R300 in interest. Young people are offered to choose a youth premium deposit account, which brings us 3.5 percent interest. I would recommend opening a children's account, which brings a 4 percent interest, even.

[Soulieva] Each bank customer is different. Then, we need a variety of bank services. One will have to agree with me that it is better to have one bank service competing with another, thus allowing the one which is more favorable to the customers, to come out on top.

[Zybov] Competition is a good thing, of course. It encourages progress. I think that residents of Lithuania will soon be able to carry out any money transactions in their journey. Within days one will be able, in Lithuania to pay for services using a check from one's checkbook. Every individual with a savings bank account will be able to have one of these books. Any given check will have a savings checks.

[Soulieva] Will checkbook holders begin receive from money this book?

[Zybov] Obviously, one will draw interest at proportion to the size of one's account.

[Soulieva] I have read in correspondence received that Americans pay for about 17 percent of their total expenses not in currency or even by check, but by the use of credit cards. Special technology determines how much money each customer has and, therefore, the required amount from the buyer's account to the owner's account. We, however, will be writing out checks and will also have to show our passports. I can imagine how tedious the lines will soon!

[Zybov] I think people will get to cash by check and small currency notes. Checks will be used whenever a large sum is required, such as R500 or R1,000, for instance.

[Soulieva] Will it there be places for people to have their valuables such as certificates, certificates, and checks in case of fire, theft?

[Zybov] Because the law, just currency, property or valuables and bank books was very weak, the struggle with the rabble becomes part the law enforcement agencies. Currently most banks consider safe-keeping of valuables. The most modern bank in any city, bank, the town have bankrobbers will not avoid it.

Automated Electronic Credit Card System Launched

PM2705121589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 May 89 Second Edition p 7

[A. Livantsev report under the rubric "Details": "Electronic Money"]

[Text] Yesterday an official presentation of the first USSR State Bank credit cards took place at the USSR Savings Bank. The practical introduction began of an automated system where people can pay for goods and services without using cash. A. Burkov, chairman of the USSR State Bank Board, received the first plastic credit card. And when will the inhabitants of Novitsa and Magadan get the "electronic" money? A. Burkov answered this and other questions put by journalists at a news conference.

"Let me begin with a comparison," he said. "One billion rubles in a bundle of rights compressed R100 banknotes which is 1 kilometer long. How much labor and funds need to be invested, and printing machinery activated, to produce in a year several dozen kilometer-long strips of paper money? The problem of managing the money supply cannot be resolved with the mere use of evershrinking forms of money since by virtue of its physical nature there are limits to its mobility. The basic way of resolving it is to use computer technology."

The new concept of banking services has been formulated by experts from the USSR member countries under Soviet leadership.

Now plastic cards with a magnetic strip have started to be issued with the assistance of the French firm "Electronique Serge Dassault" and other foreign organizations.

[Correspondent] [garbled] When will the electronic banking service system be introduced on the first streams?

[Burkov] In Crimea, in the Ukraine, in the cities of Chelyabinsk, Tyumen, Naberezhnyye Chelny—where there is large-scale industry. So, this year in Estonia alone it is proposed to issue 1.5 million credit cards.

[Correspondent] How are they utilized in practice?

[Burkov] With the new system the wages of any worker can go into the state bank and become part of the state's credit resources. To obtain money in circulation would now cost him a number [garbled] card [expense] and without any fuss or bustle put the card in the machine and key in the code and number corresponding to the sum of money you need. The computer immediately issues the money. If you use the card from the computer records all its movements on a "black box." So it becomes invalid.

[Correspondent] If the same [garbled] credit card?

[Burkov] This means that if you have no money in your bank account today, but you have been working steadily, that is you have been working for a long time, as an enterprise or organization, the computer can issue R250, for example. You must repay the debt to the state in 15 days.

The proposed integrated automated system where people can pay for goods and services without using cash encompasses all sectors of the economy. According to preliminary calculations, the cost of its implementation will amount to more than R10 billion, which amounts to about half the state annual expenditure for organizing monetary circulation in the country. That is, the cost will be recovered within a year.

Economist Discusses Convertible Ruble Problem

18300747 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Professor G. Matveikin, doctor of economic sciences: "Convertible Ruble: What Does It Take?"]

[Text] Effective 1 April, virtually all enterprises enjoy the right to operate in the foreign market. The matter now arises of how to take advantage of this right.

The absence of convertibility of the Soviet ruble is one of the main obstacles on this path. It is no accident that at a meeting of M.S. Gorbachev with representatives of the "trilateral commission" in January 1989 the issue of ruble convertibility was raised by Mr. Nakasone, and in a specific rather than general format at that: "How soon can this occur?"

A review of Western and Soviet literature shows that the presented term to elapse before the introduction of ruble convertibility ranges between 1 to 4 and 15 to 20 years. Many reasons are mentioned which hamper a quicker resolution of this issue. This is the absence of proper coverage in kind for the ruble, the underdevelopment of wholesale trade, the need to carry out measures aimed at making the finances of the country and the entire economy healthier, and so on.

However, let us say this as it is: other comparable reasons are cited along with the above main fundamental ones, such as the need to carry out a price price reform, and have the arrangements for currency exchange broken up in the domestic market at, say, [hard-currency] auctions. A great number of articles are devoted to gearing at the "proper" exchange rate of the ruble. For example, Western experts believe that it should be reduced to one-tenth compared to the dollar, whereas some Soviet specialists believe that reducing it by a factor of two would suffice. It has already been announced that beginning in 1990, a 100-percent exchange rate bonus will apply when enterprises participating in joint ventures turn in their hard currency.

I would like to touch primarily on an entire array of issues of principle in connection with the problem of ruble convertibility.

First of all, does our country need to have a convertible national currency? This depends on how we intend to proceed. Economists have always considered the convertibility of national currency to be a necessary prerequisite for increasing economic efficiency and the welfare of the nation.

The convertible ruble is a prerequisite for integrating our economy into the world economy. It will provide financial independence and complete economic accountability for our enterprises conducting foreign trade operations, create normal conditions for the operation of joint enterprises, and facilitate economic contacts in their entirety. Thus, it appears that ruble convertibility is our only needed, in a way.

However, do we have an economic opportunity to accomplish this at present? I think that at this point we do not.

First, the administrative-command system and ruble convertibility are incompatible. Despite an entire series of measures aimed at reconstructing the economic mechanism, administrative methods and management techniques in our country continue to operate. By all appearances, they will exist for a while. However, the introduction of ruble convertibility will unavoidably make the hard-currency rate of exchange the most significant instrument of market-based economic adjustment.

In an environment of economic independence and free access to external markets, enterprises become increasingly disoriented in their straightforward directives. The convertible ruble will provide additional incentives for acting in keeping with the fluctuations of the rate.

In the West, the contradiction between the economic policy of the state and the behavior of enterprises is partially resolved by adjusting the exchange rate of the national currency in a more or less efficient way. Various methods are used to this end, for example, increases or reductions in the interest rate inside the country, major purchases of the country's own currency for foreign currency, on the other way around, signing of agreements with other countries on maintaining the rate of exchange within certain limits, and so forth. Even for our country, which does not have experience with changing the bank rate of interest, we do not have sufficient currency reserves which can be used to purchase rubles when necessary, we do not have a well-adjusted system of interaction between our State Bank and the central banks of other countries. This is why a real danger of the USSR being extensively exposed to the elemental forces of the international currency market may arise in the event ruble convertibility is introduced.

There are grounds to expect that in the event of the introduction of ruble convertibility which is not properly prepared, the exchange rate of the ruble in the market will decline precipitously because hundreds of billions of rubles, which have been accumulated in state and private circulation and are not covered by goods, will rush into the currency market chasing after foreign bills for which goods are more readily available. We will see the level to which the exchange rate of the ruble can plummet in our domestic hard-currency auctions if we manage to get them off the ground.

However, the ability of the auctions to function is very much in doubt. Demand and supply are hardly going to be balanced even at a rate of R1,000 for $1. We do not have export-oriented industries on which hard-currency proceeds account for 20 to 30 percent of the volume of product sales, thus forcing them to exchange foreign currency into rubles. The minuscule share of hard-currency proceeds they receive will hardly be put up at the auctions because these enterprises can earn rubles in other ways as well.

Creating prerequisites for the purchasers to have the desire and to strive to buy rubles for foreign currency in the second premise for introducing ruble convertibility. I don't mean petty currency speculators, as there is room for buying rubles are primitive enough. I mean our Western partners, major companies and banks, because only they are capable of selling foreign currencies against the ruble in amounts sufficient for the regular performance of external economic operations of the USSR. However, a decision of the government on introducing ruble convertibility is absolutely insufficient in order for them to accept rubles in exchange for foreign currency. They must have confidence in the ruble abroad, which can be ensured primarily by the quality of goods in consumers and their variety.

Let us look at the living experience. As is known, during and after World War II, all currencies with the exception of the dollar, the Swiss franc, and the Swedish crown were non-convertible. This is why as early as in 1944 at the Bretton Woods conference (United States), the countries represented signed an agreement according to which they undertook to introduce the convertibility of their currencies as soon as possible after the war. However, 14 years were needed for the most developed of them to be able to comply with these obligations.

A transition to convertibility occurred only after these countries restored their economies, following the war, and entered the world market with a wide variety of high-quality goods.

According to 1988 data by the International Monetary Fund, many industrially developed countries-members of the fund retain certain restrictions on operations with

foreign currencies even now. Among them are, for example, a ban on short-term investments in foreign currencies inside the country and abroad, restrictions on capital transfers abroad, limits imposed on exchanging currency and the use of bank deposits by citizens in foreign currency, and so on. In most cases, the regulations are stricter regarding currency operations by the citizens of the country, and less strict for foreigners. In turn, a transition to convertibility is usually through ensuring external convertibility first, and only later internal convertibility.

Now for the issue of the rate of the ruble. We have already noted that it could not be entirely left at the mercy of elemental market forces; after all, not one country with a convertible currency allows that. Consequently, the rate should be regulated by the state under the conditions of convertibility, it means economic methods rather than directives. However, first we must solve the problem associated with estimating the "proper" level of the exchange rate and the economically justified and objectively admissible limits for its fluctuations.

In a contemporary economy, where the currency exchange rate has become an instrument of economic policy, and gold parity has become a thing of the past, the "proper" level has in a way ceased to be clearly defined. At present, it is called upon not only to reflect the parity of purchasing power, but also the objectives and tasks of domestic and foreign-economic adjustment in the national economy of a country. This requires that some indicators be found which would alert the authorities in a timely manner to the need to turn the mechanism of rate adjustments on or off. Such indicators should be sufficiently reliable and universal in order to describe both the external standing of the country and its domestic economic situation.

A radical improvement in statistical work in the USSR and considerable progress in opening statistical data will be required in order to calculate such indicators.

The current techniques used by the USSR State Bank for calculating the rate of exchange of the ruble into foreign currencies bear no criticism from the standpoint of their theoretical feasibility. They do not, at all, take into account differences in the dynamics of the purchasing power of currencies compared with the ruble. Worse yet, the techniques are so structured that the rate of the ruble is in effect determined in Washington, because the share of the dollar in the "basket" of currencies on which the calculation of the ruble rate is based is inordinately high. Meanwhile, the countries of Western Europe are our main trade partners, and if we have to peg the rate of the ruble to any one currency, as I see it, it is better to the ECU [European Currency Unit], that is, the collective currency of EEC countries. On top of this, the ECU is less subject to fluctuations, and is independent of the policy of the U.S. Administration to a degree.

A few words about the connection between the price reform and ruble convertibility. To my mind, there is no direct connection here. It was noted above that the parity of purchasing power is the basis for rate-setting. In the market, a set of goods in one country is actually compared to the same set of goods in another country. Let us assume that this set includes only four goods: men's suits, men's shoes, pantyhose, and meat. Then, in terms of retail prices, the rate of exchange of the ruble against the Swiss franc would look as follows:

	Price in the USSR	Price in Switzerland
Men's suits	82.99	350 Swiss francs
Men's shoes	80.00	120 Swiss francs
Pantyhose	0.75	3 Swiss francs
Meat	4.20	10 Swiss francs
	0.017 = 501 Swiss francs, or	
	1 = 117 Swiss francs.	

The rate will remain the same if our price structure changes, and the meat would cost, say, 80, pantyhose 2, men's shoes 800, and suits 2,750. The world practice is to equalize differences in the price structures through customs duties rather than exchange rates.

References to the parity of purchasing powers are not an idle theoretical overdone. Virtually all countries with convertible currencies calculate nominal and real effective hard-currency rates for themselves. These calculations indicate changes in the currency rate of exchange weighted for commercial operations and adjusted for the dynamics of domestic and foreign costs and prices. For example, the growth of real effective rate compared to some base period, when the external position of the country was satisfactory, means that the costs or prices in the country in question have increased compared to the costs and prices of its trade partners, as a result of which its competitiveness has declined. In order to restore the latter, the authorities should either devalue the rate of their currency or take measures aimed at reducing domestic prices or costs, or do both.

Articles by Soviet economists are correct in stressing that transition to ruble convertibility should be gradual. However, a perusal of some drafts for such gradual transition shows that they still are not well-grounded and realistic enough in some points. As I see it, the main shortcoming is found in hasty taking into account the experience of transition to the convertibility of currencies in industrially developed and developing countries. The striving for "originality" and reluctance to learn from the mistakes of others is still apparent. Our country has already paid dearly for ignoring the achievements of world experience. It would be desirable to avoid this in a matter which seems minor, but is extremely important—the introduction of the convertible ruble in the USSR.

Official Interviewed on Economic Issues

[illegible]

[illegible] with Professor Igor Gurvich, deputy director of the USSR World Economics and International Relations Institute, by Piotr Aven: "Bad Supplies Should Not Be Blamed on Perestroyka—Just and plans of economic management"

[illegible] WELT AM SONNTAG: Professor Gurvich, the reform situation in your country is deteriorating. Prices are rising, the queues in front of the shops are growing, as Moscow might not have expected again. Is then the price to be paid for perestroyka?

[illegible] I think that this is a completely normal phenomenon in socialist economies. Prices are rising not only in our country but also in all other countries—at different intervals and with different intensity. This always gives rise to certain unpleasant reactions. Therefore prices should not be blamed on perestroyka.

WELT AM SONNTAG: Many Soviet citizens say that "before we had little, but it was there in the shops, now we have more money, but there is nothing to buy."

[illegible] It is true that it is unpleasant. I think that the supply of industrial goods will soon [illegible] to the population's demand.

WELT AM SONNTAG: There are many rather basic goods in short supply, as everyone knows, in comparison.

[illegible] You know that it is said that the lack of materials is impeding [illegible] gone [illegible] to the detriment of industry or agriculture. It is [illegible] that our goods shortage has [illegible] billion.

WELT AM SONNTAG: Does the [illegible], which has just [illegible] support the enterprises?

[illegible] I suppose it has a [illegible] most unfortunately. The main difficulties in the economy lead to a change of the structure, so that [illegible] management is closely connected with the requirements of the consumer [illegible]. This is no [illegible]. Of course, the enterprises are [illegible] trade to [illegible]. They are [illegible] working with a management [illegible] which has proved to be [illegible]. There was [illegible] of the [illegible] and the enterprises began to [illegible] goods and to [illegible] consumer goods were produced. In this sense, [illegible] management system.

WELT AM SONNTAG: Does the [illegible] between [illegible]?

[illegible] I have [illegible] that some central management organs [illegible] enterprises [illegible] Normal [illegible] have [illegible] and have not [illegible] with their management [illegible].

WELT AM SONNTAG: Reforms can be successful only with the agreement and dedication of the citizens. Do the citizens not lose their enthusiasm for perestroyka if they suffer from lack of goods?

Gurvich: You are right when you say that there will be no success without the support and initiative of the masses. The goods deficit worsens the mood of the masses. This constitutes a certain threat to perestroyka.

WELT AM SONNTAG: The West is of the opinion that General Secretary Gorbachev does not have any long-term economic concept.

Gurvich: I do not share this standpoint. One does not need many words for great ideas. General Secretary Gorbachev has solved a cardinal problem by creating new legislative organs, which will lead to long-term strategic laws.

WELT AM SONNTAG: Is the enrichment of a planned economy with market economy elements not something like being "a bit pregnant?"

Gurvich: Concerning the linking of market and plan, the saying "Rest has long been a bit pregnant" is to speak. I am in danger of falling into disgrace with my Soviet colleagues when I say that the problem of plan and market is a problem that is not real but just imagined. In reality, it is a matter of linking central management with the independence of the enterprises.

WELT AM SONNTAG: But the enterprises, in particular those in foreign trade, remain shackled to the plan.

Gurvich: Unfortunately, that is still the case. In our country the state rather hinders enterprises which want to enter the world market. State monopolies take away from them a great part of export revenues.

WELT AM SONNTAG: You want a bit more competition. Competition is a system of depreciation of rights. How is it compatible with a party's claim to rule power?

Gurvich: It is not compatible. We are in a very difficult situation like, for instance, seamen with a bad ship on the high seas. However, it would be nonsense to take the ship apart to make individual rafts. Consolidation must be carried out at once.

WELT AM SONNTAG: Does the economic reform aim at depriving the party of its power?

Gurvich: The reciprocal pluralism of opinions may [illegible] lead to political pluralism. Processes, which have to be taken very seriously, are currently also taking place within the Communist Party. It is moving toward the separation of powers and power, that means, also the separation of economic power. The party would then remain the moral center. The demand that it quickly

resign from its position is impossible because which organization should then take over power? One does not change horses in the middle of a river.

WELT AM SONNTAG: The Soviet citizens are facing the process with apathy, the resistance of the unproductive cadres is great. Are your fellow-citizens actually trained for economic dynamism?

Gorbachev: This cannot be made up for within a short period. In this connection, one has to take into account the historical way of the people. Much will depend on how unanswerably the people will learn political culture. Much has already happened in the course of 4 years. Give us time.

WELT AM SONNTAG: Do you have time?

Gorbachev: I think so, yes. History gives us time if we are all together able to save ourselves from the nuclear madness.

WELT AM SONNTAG: Is the USSR a developing country in economic respects?

Gorbachev: I do not think that we will be accepted into the circle of developing countries. In space flight we are assuming a leading place, and we are one of the largest industrial powers. For instance, we are producing more tractors than the United States.

WELT AM SONNTAG: But half of them are out of order and are rusting away.

Gorbachev: This is exactly our problem—production efficiency.

WELT AM SONNTAG: In mid-May [as published] Gorbachev will visit the FRG. What kind of revitalization of our declining trade can you imagine?

Gorbachev: All forms that are acceptable to you and us, however the wishes exceed our possibilities. I see greater chances for industrial cooperation of companies which have branches both in the FRG and the USSR.

Agricultural

Program Discusses Rural Living Conditions

LD2605112089 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1000 GMT 24 May 89

["Rural Hour" program, presented by correspondent Yevgeniy Sobolev]

[Excerpts] [Sobolev] [Passage omitted] Kharkov. Beregovl. Omsk. Brest. Stavropol—these are towns where zonal seminars and conferences have taken place on what the town can offer the countryside, on the development of family farming enterprises, agrarian workshops and enterprises, market gardening, and vegetable production. And always there has been another topic that has made its own appearance, as something that goes without saying. The provision of social assistance to the countryside. To mark the appearance of a zonal seminar and conference which has opened in Kaluga. Here social issues came up against the Nonchernozem Zone of Russia. There is no alternative to resolving these social questions as quickly as possible. Under these circumstances would the conference hall belong for instance?

[Berger, Vilnyus recording] The problem of developing personal enterprises like that of the whole agro-industrial complex is indeed directly connected with the question of the social living conditions of the rural population. This was stressed with particular force by the March plenum of the party's Central Committee. In accordance with its decisions, the USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a special decision concerning a program for the social development of the countryside. The main purpose of this program is to bring about a substantial improvement in the living and working conditions of people living in the countryside, to implement consistently the principles of social justice, and to overcome the substantial differences between the cities and the countryside. [end recording]

[Sobolev] The amount and conditions of living are affected by [Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, a Politburo member, to Alekhandr Vladimirovich Vilnyus]

[Berger, Vilnyus recording] I consider that attracting the most up-to-date approaches and, as our General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev is suggesting, the most pioneering ideas of daily life to the countryside. The provision of good municipal and consumer services to the personnel farmstead is a most pressing task for giving the rural population more full support in solving their social production, and is a necessary condition for the social and labor education of the young generation. Under a good farmstead in the same way as being an important reserve for adding to the family budget, and means for the most a long way a state source for adding to the country's food resources. In the Leningrad, Ivanovo, Kostroma, Smolensk, Kaliningrad, and Pskov Oblasts construction work is starting and centers and everyday facilities on the farmsteads are developing far behind considerably. It is not fortunate that even where the engagement of the population into the family is not being reduced and agriculture is experiencing the public shortage of cadres.

The latter could also serve as the key link in a number of others in the way the personal labor enterprise is undertaken. The construction of the new premises for the occupation, even of repairing the equipment, often runs which are infrequently needed, is necessary for those to leave habitable places. Many days, a person is engaged half a million houses in the settlements where the living at the present time is most difficult in the Nonchernozem Zone. Apart from assisting the construction, there are farmsteads where could work in the main cultural

potatoes and vegetables used to be grown. The plenum requires that attention be turned sharply to the direction of the social needs of the countryside. All measures have to be taken to attract people from the towns and from regions of the country where there are surpluses of labor to take up permanent residence on the collective farms [kolkhozes] and state farms [sovkhozes], to give them all manner of help and support, a place with amenities, and to use all concessions that have been established for this purpose. [video shows Vlasov addressing conference from platform] [end recording]

[Semtsov] The main thing is specific experience which is useful to every participant in the seminar. In recent times about 15,000 square meters of housing have been built on the Oktyabrskiy sovkhoz, but the housing blocks which are large and of the urban type have not served as an incentive for the development of private farms. Houses of the farmstead type are now being built with outbuildings. [video shows Ligachev and other seminar participants arriving at the sovkhoz two-story apartment block, individual housing]

[Begin recording] [Unclear—addressing Ligachev] How do you like what has been built here? Does it meet your expectations of the farmstead?

[Ligachev] Unquestionably, absolutely. I think what is regarded as being done. This is indeed a house of the kind that will make it possible both to organize well the daily life of the people who work here, that is to say create the conditions for their life and also engage properly in family farming. [video shows Semtsov interviewing Ligachev to camera] [end recording]

[Semtsov] Essentially, what one has to do is speed up the transition from the last century into the present, [illegible] century. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Ligachev] There have already been 72 years of Soviet power and we have not yet fed our people as we should. There isn't much time, therefore. This tension has to be removed where the food problem is concerned, removed by developing everything—kolkhozes, sovkhozes, lease-contracting, cooperative collectives, peasant labor farms, family farms. So, Vyacheslav [Vladimirovich], I am in favor of that kind of farm and what is very important, these farms are still being run within the framework of the sovkhoz. You have noticed the enormous help they are being given by the sovkhoz. It gives the land, it gives the fodder, the cattle, and more than that it helps in the construction and in the working of the pasture.

[Unidentified Man] It's exactly the same here.

[Ligachev] It helps in every way, with everything.

[Man] The sovkhoz helps with the fodder, the equipment, saves timber.

[Ligachev] That's good. I would just like to impress one thing upon you. You must run things on your own account on the family holding and not at your parents' expense.

[Man] No.

[Ligachev] No, no, no, my friends.

[Man] Now we're looking only ahead.

[Ligachev] Yes, we keep your own accounts.

[Man] Yes, our own.

[Ligachev] We've just had a meeting with one such comrade—Comrade Vyacheslav Vasilevich Gaponov, who with his family of seven people, as I understand it, in fact runs a holding, and does so on a serious way. He has several cows there and several pigs. In short when we and he together worked it out, he and his family will enough to the state to provide 70 or 80 people with meat and milk according to present-day norms and present-day standards. And he has a good additional income. Yet you young people have rather more energy than he does. He's a pensioner already, but nevertheless he has shouldered such a burden. So it turns out that one can run things on a large scale. [video shows Ligachev, Semtsov, and other unidentified people standing talking together in a lounge] [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Semtsov] This fish farm is one of the workshops—one of the agro-workshops—of the Kaluga turbine works association. Its annual volume of production is up to 200 tonnes of fish. Located in the production area of the works, this farm was built by the people's construction project method. [video shows Vlasov and other seminar participants being shown round the fish production facility.]

[Begin recording] [Semtsov—to Vlasov] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, your impressions and your thoughts about this—for that is a construction project of the people.

[Vlasov] Yes. A very great thing has been done bearing in mind that it is not everywhere in the Russian Federation that there are conditions for fish farming. They do it well in Rostov [Don] and Krasnodar Krai. They produce about 30,000 tonnes of [illegible] there. You and I are familiar with the experience of the Belgorod people—the figure there is 12,000 tonnes. There are the conditions there, and here, too, there are water possibilities.

[Semtsov] And in the east, in Siberia?

[Vlasov] There, indeed, they should use the experience of the turbine works. A great thing has been done. 750 tonnes of fish per annum is a very high figure. I think

that the participants in the seminar will take up this experience. They must take it up. The soil is not very great. The equipment is there. What is needed is the initiative.

[Semichastnov] Are you satisfied with everything, not just here, I mean what we have seen yesterday and today on our visit?

[Viasov] I just asked Valeriy Vladimirovich the following question: Where he poured up the figures for the participants in the seminar who did he express the fish production in tonnes and the beef production in quintals. The figures are large, but not a lot of beef is being produced. We advised him to step up beef production, and it's good advice we gave him. When you're producing 50 tonnes of beef and 250 tonnes of pork—this is an average figure—and overall, the growth, the annual increase in production of meat per worker is just over 1 kg. This is a small increase because the task is to produce 30 kg of meat and 50 kg of milk per annum for each worker. That is the task of the 13th 5-Year Plan period. I believe that these shortcomings exist in other enterprises, too. We have a lot of good examples. Take [Kuzmo-nefti]—47,000 workers, and 27 kg of meat are produced for each worker. Valeriy Vladimirovich—47,000 workers.

There are many such examples, but it is not everywhere that there is the proper party attitude to this important matter. At the seminars, therefore, we are having a constructive and interesting discussion on specific issues. And we will hope that the situation will be made right.

[Semichastnov] But I think we should thank them for this workshop.

[Viasov] Thank you, indeed, similar as—I don't know whether there are any Muscovites here—that we have been talking about the great opportunities that there are in Moscow Oblast to build workshops of this kind and produce fish. For the present the shortage.

[Semichastnov—interrupting] I haven't seen this kind of thing in Moscow or in Moscow Oblast.

[Viasov] No. Well, some 7,000 tonnes are produced in Moscow Oblast. You must agree that this is very little for Moscow Oblast. That is why we have now much some public criticism. Let them work, let them learn. I don't think Moscow Oblast is the only example—Kaluga is one. We have to learn. We have good examples everywhere. [video shows Viasov being interviewed before the camera by Semichastnov on the fish farming plant] [end recording]

[Semichastnov] An exhibition of machinery was put on for the participants in the seminar and conference in the village of Gavrenka. [passage omitted] [video shows exhibited agricultural equipment]

[Begin recording] [Video shows Ligachev talking with unidentified people] [Ligachev] So, in the final analysis, we have already set the task of removing the difficulties that have arisen on the land front. Ways have to be sought for getting out of this tension as quickly as possible. No doubt this, too, has to be set in motion. The land is there—Aleksandr Vladimirovich is right—and given that the land is there it is possible to farm.

[Unidentified man] The will is there.

[Ligachev] The will is there in fullest measure. All the restrictions have been lifted, comrades. You know, you must get it right out of your heads that this is some kind of petty-bourgeois way of life. Do get this going, dear comrades, full, wherever you are. The land is there in the Non-Chernozem Zone, waiting for the people, for man to have himself with it. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Estonian Farmers' Leader Interviewed

PM120512 89 Moscow *[PRAVDA* in Russian
7 May 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Yaan Enkil, executive secretary of the Estonian Collective Farm Council and member of the Central Union of Peasants Board, by L. Levitskiy: "Collective Farm, Leaseholder, Homesteader" date, place of interview not given]

[Text] As we have already reported, at its conference congress the Central Union of Peasants of Estonia—that is the title which the republic's homesteaders have given to their association—presented Ya. Ekhavitse and Yu. Lebaks from Parnovskiy Rayon and Yu. Vomu from Viruvaya with state deeds transferring land to their use in perpetuity. Officially, they have been described as the first farmers, although there are already over 100 independent peasant farms in the republic.

How is the role of the farmstead seen? Is this not just another zigzag in agricultural policy?

These and other questions are answered by Yaan Enkil, executive secretary of the Estonian Collective Farm [kolkhoz] Council and member of the Central Union of Peasants Board, in an interview with an *[PRAVDA* correspondent.

[Enkil] Let me remind you that back in March last year the republic Council of Ministers and Communist Party Central Committee adopted a resolution "On Individual Labor Activity in Agriculture." This was the starting point for the rebirth of farmsteads [armatalu]. It is not an easy process. The CPSU Central Committee Plenum held in March gave clear answers to many questions of concern to peasants. They have now obtained the right to choose between remaining on a collective or state farm [sovkhoz] as a shareholder or becoming independent farmers.

We realize, however, that the newly emergent farmstrader does not find things comfortable in a system where social production has a de facto monopoly. To support him the Council of Ministers recently adopted a resolution "On Priority Measures To Develop Peasant Farms in the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]." I believe that this document takes into consideration both the key provisions of the Union all-union law on leasing and also the specific features of our republic.

[Litvinskiy] How is public opinion reacting to the transition within the framework of kolkhozes and sovkhozes?

[Ivold] It is our conviction in the republic that the future does not lie with contracts. By his nature and character the Estonian peasant longs for independence and freedom. For us the farmstead is a production unit, a cell of society, and the basis of our way of life—all these things. Unfortunately, a considerable proportion of our land consists of small dividend plots. You can't use high-powered equipment on them, and the big farms lack manpower. As a result there is little arable land, and small fields have been abandoned. In brief, the land has been longing for devotion and permanence. Against this background the leaseholder is still seen, even by many, as a temporary person.

It was correctly stated at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum: Let the peasants decide how to operate and on what principles. The important thing right now is that the rehabilitation of farmsteading has created in a kind of emotional calm. Many peasants already regard leasing as a transitional form between large-scale collective farming and family farming. Therefore the contracts that are being concluded must provide for performing enterprises for the leaseholder to take on land in perpetuity. Leaseholders can also join the Central Union of Peasants.

[Litvinskiy] As I understand it, the new Estonian Council of Ministers resolution enshrines the transfer of land forests, and bodies of water to the peasant in perpetuity.

[Ivold] Not quite. In the Estonian context the conception is slightly different—when transferring the above, we are not to find a more precise term. But the essence of it is that the state guarantees the peasant that he, his children, and his grandchildren will have the use of the land allocated to them always, unless they themselves abandon it, of course. The Ministries of Justice and Finance have already been instructed to formulate farmstead inheritance entitlements and conditions in conjunction with the Central Union of Peasants. We are studying the Finnish experience. There, for example, a farm passes to one of the heirs complete—including it as a production unit for pure compensation—with certain compensations to the others. And this is an understandable approach in our conditions, for example, the cost of a farmstead would be somewhere in the region of R [Ruble] 100,000. This is why we need a well-tried inheritance mechanism.

[Litvinskiy] We've gotten sidetracked by talking about inheritance law. Let's start with the creation of farmsteads. Does the new resolution envisage "blanket farmsteadization?" People are saying that our fine morning sickness members will wake up to find they have become farmsteaders.

[Ivold] This is groundless talk. We have excellent highly efficient kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and agrofirms. To dismantle or eliminate them would be counterproductive. Diversity of farming conditions presupposes diversity of forms of ownership and production organization. This is what guarantees success.

Personally, I believe in farmsteads, personally I accept. There are around 15,000 of them in the republic. Admittedly not many peasants yet have a clear deed of land ownership. In our Setumaa district, which I have at least 5 months to draw up the documents. By the end of the year the number of operational farmsteads will have doubled, and I believe that in 10 years this will be producing at least one-third of all the meat in the republic—70,000-80,000 tonnes a year.

[Litvinskiy] But I assume that many production will still have the decisive say.

[Ivold] It has many advantages. Mechanization, a thousand workdays days off work. The good farms pension have high wages, good amenities, leisure facilities. Non-workers will abandon at the end like as a heavy burden of responsibility. Furthermore, in the 30 years since the war we have turned the peasant farmer into a hired worker. The need to do everything yourself remains scars here. But this is not the most difficult.

The main thing is that there is a possibility of setting up thousands of farmsteads within the space of a few years. I repeat, a good farm will require R 100,000 in investments.

[Litvinskiy] But the farmsteads is not being asked to do everything on its own money.

[Ivold] Of course not. The resolution envisages that roads, communications, and infrastructure will be state funded.

[Litvinskiy] And allowances?

[Ivold] The state pays kolkhozes and sovkhozes the cost of removing land. I envisage the same rights because the land has to be taken from them. A specific statement with parameters will follow soon.

[Levinskiy] That's fine. But where is the peasant going to get the other R100,000—for a house, outbuildings, equipment?

[Ivold] From the bank, on credit. Credit limits have been increased. A republic farmerized fund is being set up, and part of its funds will go to provide additional credits. Raion soviet executive committees [raiispolkoms] are authorized to provide peasants with credit out of the local budget. The republic will probably be able to pay off a proportion of credits out of budget funds.

[Levinskiy] But as some participants in the farmerization congress said, interest payments on loans are prohibitive.

[Ivold] The thinking farmer doesn't say things like that. Credit is beneficial not only because it makes it possible to get production organized quickly. It is also beneficial in its own right. The bank charges 4 percent annually, whereas the inflation rate, according to official figures, is much higher. So it's clear that anything you buy today will be cheaper than if you bought it tomorrow. ... It is no coincidence that enthusiastic use of credit is made in all countries.

[Levinskiy] What is the optimum size of a farmstead? How much land is a farmsteader to be given, for example?

[Ivold] The resolution does not establish limits. At present, we have a great deal of unused or poorly used land. Nor, as yet, do we have reliable criteria here. Our Latvian neighbors consider that at least 20 hectares are needed. The size of farmsteads in Smolgovo, Estonia varied between 1 and 100 hectares. The Finns and the Swedes claim that a strong farmstead needs 150-200 hectares of land—forest, pasture, and arable land. Incidentally, the Swedish and Finnish peasant organizations have each promised to build a model farmstead in Estonia and provide modern equipment.

[Levinskiy] Nevertheless, who is going to give so much land to farmsteaders? It has long since been decided not to, because enterprises and sectors, after all, [a kolkhoz chairman or workers director going to bed hungry?" and directors of lightening concerns who have been allocated thousand-arable land would be rather suspicious of] "economic rent."

[Ivold] A serious question. We have addressed the issue in "remarks" (the land). All land that is not being used must be immediately handed over to local soviets. I am convinced that the soviets in general must dispose of all farmland on the state's behalf, transferring it to the possession and use of shareholders—kolkhozes and workers' cooperatives, families [of the farming to those who know how to be real farmers]. For the time being we have come up with the following solution. When the land is transferred, a three-way contract is concluded. The kolkhoz, for example, transfers a certain area of land to a peasant, and the kolkhoz correspondingly reduces the workers' output sales plan to state order. The farmer in turn commits himself to selling part of his output to the state. The detrimental effect will be nil.

[Levinskiy] Output from the farmstead will go toward the workers' plan?

[Ivold] Not necessarily. The peasant will himself decide who to sell it to—the cooperative network, processing enterprises, or the workers. On the basis of his own interests.

[Levinskiy] But at what prices?

[Ivold] At the ordinary purchase prices set for social production. With all the increments. With the exception, of course, of the seasonal increment. "For exceeding last year's level." As an alternative an amendment was proposed when the draft of our resolution was being discussed in the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee: Prices are increased by 10 percent if a farmsteader concludes a long-term, 5-10-year contract to sell output to the state. Provided the contract is met, of course.

[Levinskiy] So the farmsteader himself decides how to dispose of his output?

[Ivold] Not quite. There is one condition: It is advantageous to operate on the local market. The republic helps the farmsteader to get on his feet and takes no income taxes from him for the first 5 years, and so we are entitled to expect results in return. There are exceptions, of course. Under direct contracts with plants a peasant can use his own output as payment for suppliers of equipment or fertilizer, and if he operates on the foreign market he has the right to obtain foreign currency.

As far as social provision is concerned, a corresponding resolution is being prepared. The farmsteader will pay a certain percentage into the social provision fund, just as state enterprises do. And naturally he will have the same rights as a pensioner and other benefits as workers' workers. The only difference is each individual will decide whether to have a share in such a fund or not.

[Levinskiy] Is the picture not too favorable? Every provision has been made for farmsteads to prosper.

[Ivold] Universal prosperity is a fantasy. Economics are uncompromising. If we really intend to live in accordance with their laws we also have to make provision for possible complications, including bankruptcy.

[Levinskiy] It is probably permissible to be worrying about bankruptcy given the present food shortage and lack of competition. But the measures you are describing guarantee farmsteaders most favored status.

[Ewald] Don't exaggerate the significance of the resolution. It is only the first push. In the future farmsteaders' rights will have to be enshrined in constitutional norms and legislative enactments. Pending a comprehensive law it will evidently be necessary to elaborate a "partial" version—a law on peasant farming in Estonia. It will have to combine opposing fundamental provisions—state ownership of land and private farming, because that is essentially what a peasant farm is. "Private property" is a uniform concept used throughout the world. But we ideologized it by calling it "personal." I believe that all this "terminological" creativity is a waste of time. It is more useful to create a financial mechanism which would keep private property within bounds in keeping with the interests of the state, not allowing it to develop into an instrument of profit and exploitation. Society has opportunities enough for this: price, investment, and taxation policy. Especially because the state remains the owner of the land. If we manage in practice to create favorable conditions for all forms of ownership and production we won't have to worry about the fate of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, or farmsteaders. Any efficient farm, large or small, will stand up for itself.

Scientific

'Cosmos-2020' Satellite Launched 17 May

[ZHURNALISTIKA Moscow 7 (33) on English 07Jn (LBF) 10 May 89]

[Text] Moscow, May 18, TASS—The artificial satellite, Kosmos-2020, was launched in the Soviet Union on Wednesday, 17 May, with the help of the "Soyuz" booster rocket. The satellite carries scientific apparatus for space research.

The satellite has been put into orbit with the following parameters:
Initial period of revolution 89.1 minutes;
Maximum distance from Earth 365 km;
Minimum distance from Earth 180 km;
Inclination of the orbit to 5 degrees.

The satellite also carries a radio system for the precise measurement of the elements of the orbit, a radio-telemetric system for transmitting to earth data on the performance of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The on-board equipment functions normally.

General Shabanov Denies 'Spaceplane' Project Claim

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in RUSSIA 17 (9355) 23 Apr 89 Second Edition p 8]

[Interview with Army General V.M. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister, by N. Dorokhovskiy under the rubric "Reliable Knows": "The Cosmos: Space Orbits"—date and place unspecified; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The popular magazine SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN recently discussed the Soviet space program and gave readers the sensational news that the USSR has allegedly developed [soudan] an unusual craft—a small spaceplane. Here is the word-for-word text from the magazine:

"Another addition to the range of Soviet space systems is a small reusable spaceplane. Soviet officials still have not admitted the fact that the USSR has such a machine. However, its existence was discovered a few years ago, when an Australian Air Force aircraft flying over the Indian Ocean photographed a scaled-down spaceplane model.

"Western specialists believe that the SL-16 rocket could be used to place the spaceplane in low-earth orbit; the plane can carry a crew of two or three and quite a small payload; the plane is probably able to land on a standard runway. It can also be used to transport people from one spacecraft to another, to inspect satellites, and as a quick-reaction rescue craft.

"The scaled-down spaceplane model was photographed by an Australian Air Force aircraft overflying a Soviet ship. The deckhands retrieved the model from the water after it had landed following a test flight. The actual spaceplane would probably be 2-3 times larger than this model."

It has to be admitted that we have never heard of such a craft developed [soudanen] in our country. At the same time, a definite conclusion suggests itself. The magazine gradually leading readers to believe that a fundamentally new kind of space weapon—a craft able to put orbital spacecraft out of action—already exists in the USSR.

We asked Army General V.M. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister, to comment on this report.

[Shabanov] This report in the popular U.S. magazine should be put down as a "canard." Our country has no such craft. Incidentally, there is nothing similar in the entire world. Back in the early sixties the U.S. Air Force looked into the possibility of building a spaceplane. This was done under the "Dinosaur" project. But work stopped in 1963 for two reasons. There was no definite possibility of using the craft in a military program and the project cost was astronomical.

[Dorokhovskiy] Don't you think that the magazine report is aimed at prompting U.S. legislators into returning to that program?

[Shabanov] I have no information on that score, but I think it should not be ruled out. All the more so as Europe is already planning to develop (savrabotka) a similar craft.

[Dorokhovskiy] Just what is credit to the picture?

[Shabanov:] This is perfectly clear. During the development of the "Buran" shuttle four mockups [modelirovaniye] were launched. They were launched under the "Cosmos" classification system: numbers 1374, 1443, 1517, and 1614. Heat-shielding elements, guidance systems, and so forth were worked out on the models. It was one of these models that the Australians photographed. [Shabanov ends]

...We would add that journalistic ethics demand that we discuss in the subjunctive things that are not reliably known. In this case our colleagues from SCIENTIFIC [illegible] AN divorced from this rule.

Murmansk Earth Tremors Linked to Ore Blasting

PM2705103289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Report by freelance correspondent A. Khramtsov under the rubric "Earthquakes": "In the Khibiny, at the Mine"]

[Text] Kirovsk (Murmansk Oblast), 13 May—Routine production blasts for ore extraction thundered out at 0251 on April at the "Apatit" Association's Kirovskiy and Yuksporskiy underground mines. The techniques used in this work were in no way different from usual. However, the seismic stations at the Kirovskiy mine and the Kola Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences registered additional shocks on the earth's crust.

A special commission created from scientists and production workers, as well as employees of the State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry, and for Mine Supervision, inspected the Kirovskiy mine workings and analyzed the seismological materials. The commission reached the conclusion that an earthquake of up to force 5 really had occurred on April in the region of the Saamskiy ore quarry's fractures on the Khibiny Mountains. And it happened at the time of blasting work.

More detailed information will be obtained after processing the data of the Kola Scientific Center's seismic stations. Journalists of the local KIROVSKIY KASPIY [Caspian] newspaper were told this by the production association's chief engineer.

Leonid Lavidzh of Mathematical-Physical Sciences Yelena Kremenetskaya, chief of the seismology laboratory of the Kola Scientific Center's Geological Institute, to comment on this report.

"According to our data, the 13 April underground shocks in the Khibiny were of the order of force 5 at the epicenter of the earthquake," she said. "Were they connected with the blasting work? Most likely, yes. Underground shocks of up to force 2 and, in August 1988, up to force 4 have been recorded in the Khibiny Mountains over the past 5 years. The possibility of a future increase in their strength because of current economic activity in that same 'Apatit' Association cannot be ruled out. Induced [navedennyy] seismicity is occurring in the Khibiny. It results from the fact that a huge quantity of rock has been removed from ore quarries and underground workings. This has led to a redistribution of stress in the earth's crust. And technical blasts increase seismic activity in mountain fractures.

"The underground shocks have not yet caused substantial destruction. After the 13 April earthquake our staff members recorded cracks in tunnels in the aforesaid mines. In apartment blocks in Kirovsk's residential district close to the mountains—Khibiny 27—furniture was overturned, and large pieces of plaster fell from the ceilings in the building of the secondary school situated there. No residents or schoolchildren were hurt, as the shock occurred on a Sunday.

"Serious research work by specialists and constant monitoring of seismic activity in the Khibiny Mountains are needed in order to predict and prevent the unpleasant consequences of underground shocks in the future."

Military

Lizichev Interviewed on Army Political Work

LD1906072089 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1830 GMT 24 May 89

[Interview with Army General Lizichev by journalist V. Volodkin; date, place not specified; from an unscheduled "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The 70th anniversary of the political organs of the Soviet armed forces is being marked today. We offer for your attention an interview granted by Army General Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, to journalist V. Volodkin. Lizichev shows Lizichev being interviewed in an office by journalist V. Volodkin. Both are seated at a table]

[Begin recording] [Volodkin] Gheorgii Dmitriyevich, over the 70-year history of our political organs of the armed forces the image of the commissar has formed in the consciousness of the Soviet people.

[Lizichev] A view of the commissar was rightly formed as of courageous, fearless people, dedicated to the cause of the working class, our Soviet rule. The Communists' fight, both in the years of the Civil War and in the years of the Great Patriotic War, fatal tasks, too, in our life today, in the most difficult sectors there is one principle. The commissar must lead from the front. We are working in every way possible for the traditions of the commissars, the traditions of political officers not only to be continued, but also to be developed.

[Volodkin] Are there, in your view, distinguishing features between commissars at the time of combat and today's officers, political workers?